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Finance Policy, Convertible Lek Viewed

AU1908202290 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No. 7 Jul 90 pp 46-55

[Prof. Sabah Hilmia article: "A Deeper Conception of the Role of Finance, Currency, and Credit"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Our plan-directed socialist economy accepts the role of the market. Of course, this is a matter of certain elements of the market, and not the spontaneous and unrestricted operation of the market and the law of market value with all the economic and social consequences this entails in capitalist countries.

It is, therefore, not a question of a "marriage" between the plan-directed socialist economy and a free and unrestricted market economy, but of accepting certain elements of the market in our economy to the extent that the production of goods and the law of market value are upheld. This implies a greater relative independence of enterprises from the plan, and the more extensive and effective use of the levers of economic and financial mechanisms in their self-financing operations. It simultaneously implies a greater relative independence of financial institutions and the bank from the plan and better-argued economic ties between certain elements of the market and the plan in order to reflect supply and demand more realistically. [passage omitted]

Our intentions to bring prices closer to their true value and to restrict noneconomic factors in the formation of wholesale and retail prices, so that they take more account of supply and demand when prices are determined, will further increase the interest and self-motivation of enterprises and agricultural cooperatives. Such organizations will be encouraged to increase the quantity, variety, quality, and pace of production, as is currently taking place with vegetables, raw fruit, and corn flour—products which have virtually no direct connection with imports and exports and with foreign currency payments.

Self-financing management is closely linked with prices. We can even say that it is largely conditional on prices and their role as a tool in increasing or discouraging production, reconciling supply and demand, encouraging a greater range of products, and improving quality. The method of self-financing also implies the right of enterprises to decide, relatively independently, questions concerning the reconstruction and expansion of their existing production capacity. [passage omitted]

The application of this mechanism must, therefore, be watched and studied with care; at the same time, additional measures and steps to be taken must also be studied according to a definite and phased program, in order to further refine this mechanism. This is particularly necessary when we bear in mind the not-too-distant future in which we will have trading and payment relations with EEC countries, and when the chances of the survival of clearing trade have greatly diminished.

The new economic mechanism also demands a better and deeper conception of the role of the state in the economy and of relations between the plan, financial institutions, and the bank, and their greater relative independence from the plan.

The world's historical experience of economic development proves that the state has always—everywhere, at every stage—intervened in the economic field in one way or another, whether its intervention has been direct or oblique, and apart from the methods it has used in order to intervene.

It is well known that the state (once the prince or king) has always had, and still has, the exclusive right to mint coinage and has been the "guarantor" of the worth and stability of the currency. Currency has, therefore, served as an instrument for the oblique intervention of the state in the economy, and monetary policy has been used to ensure a kind of equilibrium in a country's economy.

Even mercantilism, as a trend in economic thought and trading policy, has supported the extensive intervention of the state in the economy, especially in the field of imports and exports. The instruments used by the state for this purpose have been customs and excise duties, which have been used as an instrument to encourage exports, restrict imports, and to ensure a trade surplus.

A. Smith, one of the famous theoreticians of bourgeois political economy and a spokesman for the interests of capitalism and free competition—although an opponent of state intervention in the economy on the grounds that state intervention damages the economy's "metabolism"—is, in the final analysis, against direct intervention, but not against every form of indirect intervention, especially by means of finance, budget expenditure, and taxes. He is even considered the originator of four basic tax rules.

Under the conditions of imperialism, "modern" bourgeois theories of political economy began with Keynes. He argued the need for direct state intervention in the economy through finance, budget policy, and, in some cases, combined with monetary policy, in order to eliminate or alleviate crises and unemployment, thus ensuring the economy's "equilibrium."

Even the contemporary theory of monetarism is not, in essence, against all forms of state intervention in the economy, because the "dirigiste" policy applied to the currency by central banks and currency authorities is a form of indirect intervention; this is true even under the conditions of the "free market" of which bourgeois propaganda makes so much today. Meanwhile, we are all witnesses to the extensive implementation of protectionist, and even superprotectionist, economic policies.

A real, pure market economy does not, therefore, exist even in those countries held up as "models" of "free" trade, because there are certain regulations and controls in these countries; furthermore, certain instruments are used which testify to indirect state intervention in the

economy. In the FRG, for example, the state currently subsidizes both the iron and steel industries and agriculture. Does this not show that there is no free and unrestricted operation of market mechanisms, even in these countries? It is a question of the extent of state intervention—the forms and methods which are used in one country or another—and the aims they seek to achieve.

The market in itself and an unrestricted free market economy have not been and cannot be in a position to lay down major strategic guidelines in the field of the economy, infrastructure, foreign trade, and the social sphere without indirect intervention by the state through financing, currency, and credit. Of course, this can be overdone and exaggerated.

It must be clear here that the strategy of economic development, priorities, the branches of the economy to which priority will be given, and the principal all-round targets of our national economic and social development have been and must be laid down by the government, which is, and must be, the "master" of development strategy. It must be correctly understood, however, that a centralized and planned development of the economy does not mean that barbers, painters, and pie-sellers should be centralized and managed by the state. Life has shown us that there have been exaggerations in this direction. There is no reason why the state should shoulder everything. [passage omitted]

The bank is an important financial institution. It is entrusted with the task of issuing currency and ensuring the stability of its purchasing power. At the same time, it has another important function: issuing credit to economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives. The role and importance of this institution has been increasing, especially in recent years, when the bank has obtained, by law, relative independence from the Ministry of Finance.

World historical experience shows that banks have always been relatively independent, and this independence has, in most cases, even been guaranteed by law. The stability of the Deutsche mark and its purchasing power is, to a large extent, due to the central German independence from the government, although there has never been any lack of constant consultation between Bonn and the German Federal Bank.

The new economic mechanism now being introduced cannot be successfully conceived or applied without significantly improving the role and importance of the State Bank in several principal ways:

First, the Bank must enjoy greater relative independence from the plan. Otherwise, it will not be able to properly carry out its task of preserving the stability of the currency's purchasing power, or, as a result, the stability of prices.

Second, the Bank must use more effectively the instruments of monetary and credit policy, which are, in fact, important levers for managing the operation of self-financing enterprises by economic rather than administrative means.

Third, the currency must become properly convertible, first within the country, and later, at least to a partial extent, abroad.

It is well known that preserving the purchasing power of money is the primary task of central banks, banks which issue currency. This is, in fact, the fundamental duty of our state bank, also. If this function is carried out strictly, currency and monetary policy must not be used to cover any state expenditure which is not economically and financially justified, because this weakens the purchasing power of money. In order to protect the country from this phenomenon, the bank plays an important role through a monetary policy which is relatively independent of the plan and the budget, and through the use of the instruments of monetary and credit policy which it possesses.

At the same time, the bank can, and must, restrict unjustified demands for credit made by enterprises or agricultural cooperatives, not simply in administrative ways and or by restricting credit according to the plan, but by using economic methods; through interest rates, repayment schedules, and the like.

The new economic mechanism, in general, introduces bank credits in place of state financing. We should gradually reach the point where the enterprise or agricultural cooperative will, in effect, ask for bank credits when the need arises and when it is economically and financially beneficial to obtain credit. [passage omitted]

The new economic mechanism is also closely tied to improving international trade and payments, and the balance of trade and payments with foreign countries. This also depends, to a large extent, on the rate of exchange of foreign currencies with our own national currency unit, and the stand that will, in the future, be taken regarding the partial convertibility of the lek, especially as our pricing system approaches that of the world market. The Bank has, and will have, an important role in this field with its monetary policy. Of course, the convertability of the lek, even if initially partial, demands conditions requiring improvements in our real economy, such as the development of a single internal market, higher production, increased foreign currency reserves and exports, a more rational national price structure, a more realistic exchange rate, and so forth. This will take time. At the same time, it must be admitted that convertibility in itself helps to put the national economy in order, and helps to prepare it for trading exchanges with foreign countries on the basis of the international division of labor, perhaps also associated with a definite customs policy. The problem must, therefore, be tackled first of all by the bank, which must, without losing time and without undue haste, cooperate

and coordinate its work with the Ministry of Finance, the State Planning Commission, and the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

These are only some thoughts which could assist fruitful discussion and, perhaps, could also help in drafting a program of work for studying paths and guidelines for further refining and deepening our economic mechanism in future years, without in the least claiming that these are to be the sole guidelines.

Publication of 'Problematic' Writers Viewed

AU1708183190 Tirana DRITA in Albanian 5 Aug 90 p 5

[Prof. Dr. Koco Bihiku article: "Let Us View the Literary Heritage of the Past With Scientific Objectivity"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Some comrades say that a long time has passed since F. Konica [Faik Konica, 1876-1942, publicist, prewar Albanian ambassador to Washington], G. Fishta [Gjergj Fishta, 1871-1940, poet, Catholic priest], and E. Koliqi [Ernest Koliqi, 1900-?, writer, minister of education under the Italian occupation] carried out their antinational activities in the political field. These individuals also say that there is no reason why we should persist in our earlier assessments of them, particularly now that the once strict stand against "collaborationist" writers has been moderated in France and the United States. [passage omitted]

If it is true—as indeed it is—that the work of these writers is "a countercurrent in the generally progressive stream of Albanian literature," as Ismail Kadare stated in his interview with ZERI I RINISE on 21 March 1990, the question naturally arises of why we should embark on a discussion of the stance toward these writers which has been maintained up until now; of the negative role the greater part of their works played in the Albanian people's endless struggle for freedom, enlightenment, and general progress; and why we should publish and disseminate their works. The reasoning of some comrades is particularly strange when they claim that the publication of Koliqi's stories and Fishta's verses would "highlight Migjeni's qualities even more strongly," or would "significantly benefit Ndre Mjeda, another clerical Catholic poet." Such reasoning is, to put it mildly, incomprehensible, not to say ridiculous; the value of a writer comes from the relation of his works to progressive currents in the development of the life and history of the whole people, and not from comparisons with others, which may be subjective and arbitrary.

In trying to assess these figures objectively, I do not wish to say that we must pass over them in total silence. The panorama of the historical and literary process of the past may be set forth complete, including those whom Kadare calls "problematic" writers to the extent that is necessary. [passage omitted]

In studying the literary heritage of the past, we must rigorously observe the Leninist principle of the two cultures within a national culture that are an expression of opposing trends of historical development. If we do not adhere to this principle, we are at risk of falling into bourgeois objectivism or subjective and one-sided attitudes, which means a concession to alien methodological viewpoints. "No concession must be made to bourgeois ideology in any field," Comrade Ramiz Alia said at the eighth Albanian Workers Party Central Committee meeting, "either in politics, art, culture, or economic relations."

There has been a lot of noise recently about 16th and 17th century literature. It is said that this literature is not properly appreciated or, worse, has been ignored, which has done colossal "harm" to our national culture! The question naturally arises: What is the truth? What do the facts show? [passage omitted]

The belief that old literature has not been properly appreciated, because its humanist spirit has not been pointed out, is open to dispute. If we set aside Barleti and other humanists who were genuinely influenced by this great movement of thought, it is impossible to assert that the world view of Buzuku, Budi, Bardhi, Matrenga, and Variboba is based on humanism, without contradicting historical facts. Bogdani [17th-century writer, bishop, author of "The Band of the Prophets"] is a different case. As our writers have recently shown, his theory of "human free will" shows the influence of progressive ideas of the time. Yet it is still difficult to call him a humanist, if we adhere strictly to the scientific principle of humanism as an intellectual anti-feudal and anticlerical movement of the European Renaissance which rose up against the yoke of religion, saw the basis of human life in human thought and activity, and affirmed the freedom and independent development of the spirit. S. Sinani takes this extreme position when, in his article "Old Literature: A Testimony to the Literacy of Albanian Civilization," he pronounces not only Bogdani, but all old literature to be humanist. [passage omitted]

Bogdani does indeed refer to the ideas of the authors of antiquity, but this does not change the foundations of his religious world view. S. Sinani accepts this, falling into open self-contradiction, when he writes: "Bogdani's book, to the extent that it is a religious work, is also a philosophical tract, not just in the sense that religion was the philosophy of the time, but primarily in its original interpretation of sacred themes." First of all, if it is a religious book, it cannot be humanist. Second, Bogdani wrote an original book in the sense that he did not translate or adapt his predecessors. His ideas about the universe, man, and life on earth were those of the Catholic Church. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, we may say that the above demands made by some comrades do not help to objectively illuminate the historical and literary processes of the past. The efforts of our students, so far, to research our literary heritage have been on the right road, and have yielded valuable and important results. Of course, there is room to consider, determine, and argue more convincingly

certain aspects; this will be done by applying the methodological and scientific principles on which our science of literature relies.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Editorial Note

Our attitude toward old Albanian literature, and some later contradictory writers of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, has, for a long time, been the subject of discussion among our literary public, and therefore in the press, as well. Glancing at the articles published on this problem, the editorial board believes it is necessary to make certain points to future participants in this discussion, in order that the debate may best serve the purposes for which it was inaugurated. We think that this is not the time or place simply to judge, as an end in itself, the road that has been followed up until now. It is more important to consider how we will act under the present conditions, when the intellectual level of the Albanian world cannot be compared with that prevailing, not 30 or 40 years ago, but even 10 years ago. Are we to continue to judge an entire ancient literature, or certain later contradictory authors, simply from texts in literary histories? In other words, to leave knowledge about them in the hands of only a few researchers, and not think about preparing them for publication, when it is well known that one of the main principles of a cultured person—in any era—is to form his opinions from his own reading, and not from whatever might be served up to him by someone else? As long as we accept the dialectic of development in this field, it is not right for us to consider certain problems in the field of literature to be solved once and for all, when we know that every period is subject to its own logic and its opposing views.

Which would be more harmful, the publication of old Albanian literature, or silence about it; or, still worse, its denigration leading to the erroneous idea that Albanian literature began later than it in fact did. Was it part of the European Renaissance, thus testifying to the antiquity of Albanian civilization, and at the same time reflecting specifically national conditions and characteristics, just as the literature of our national renaissance [late 19th century] reflected European romanticism?

These are problems which we think must be discussed with scientific objectivity and civil responsibility, as should the treatment of authors such as F. Konica, Z. Skiroi, and Fishta. They have, hitherto, been judged solely on the basis of their political and social activity; even this has been viewed only in its most extreme forms, and not as something complex, closely tied with the extremely confused time in which these people lived. Of course, everybody has the right to maintain and express his own views about all these things. It must simply not be forgotten that the issue is more important than the injured pride of some academic or some commission for texts. We also think it is appropriate to remind students that this problem cannot be properly illuminated without also referring to the views of Kosovar academics and writers; it is well-known that their contribution to this field has been very great and of high quality.

Of course, this clash of views—without disparaging subjectivity or unjustifiable panegyrics—is being conducted for the sake of a dialectical assessment of our national culture and its antiquity, wealth, and diversity. The editorial board does not believe that the aim of such articles has been to make concessions to alien methodological viewpoints.

The participation of students and writers in this debate will enable the problem to be properly discussed in accordance with the all-round development of the Albanian world at the end of this century.

Assembly Formally Condemns 'Annexation' of Kuwait

AU1708195290 Sofia BTA in English 1906 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Aug (BTA)—The Grand National Assembly makes a common cause with the world public and categorically condemns the occupation and the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq and calls upon for strictly observing Resolutions 661 and 662 of the United Nations Security Council, it is pointed out in the declaration the Bulgarian Parliament approved today.

In the declaration the Bulgarian parliamentarians express their concern over the fate of their colleagues—the parliamentarians in Kuwait, which is still unknown.

The Grand National Assembly makes an appeal to all parliaments in the world to concert their efforts for finding a way out of the present crisis and for the restoration of the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Kuwait.

Zhelev Condemns Iraqi 'Aggression'

AU1908175690 Sofia BTA in English 1738 GMT 19 Aug 90

["Declaration of Bulgaria's President Zhelev"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Aug (BTA)—"Bulgaria resolutely condemns Iraq's aggression against Kuwait as a gross violation of international law and energetically opposes the use of force and the violation of the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial integrity of any state," the Bulgarian head of state Dr Zhelyu Zhelev emphasized in a televised declaration this evening. He described the annexation of Kuwait as unlawful and null and void and urged for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwaiti territory, for the restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty and legitimate government.

"We declare ourselves in favor of a humane treatment of all foreign nationals on the territory of Iraq and Kuwait, of guaranteeing their life and security in keeping with the universally recognized standards of international law," Dr Zhelev said.

The president reiterated Bulgaria's support for the UN Security Council resolution imposing comprehensive sanctions against Iraq. The strict compliance with this and the other UN Security Council resolutions is a necessary condition for a further upgrading of the prestige of the world body and will guarantee the effective maintenance of world peace, especially in the cases when the security of small states is threatened, he emphasized.

Dr Zhelyu Zhelev pointed out that Bulgaria's joining the sanctions against the aggressor entails serious economic consequences for this country. Iraq owes Bulgaria 1,200,000,000 dollars which it repays in oil shipments. This year Iraq will not deliver more than 140,000 tons of oil. This year alone, Bulgaria will sustain a further 160 million dollars' worth of losses due to unutilized engineering work, undelivered goods and unrealized transport services in Iraq and Kuwait. The need to suspend the operation of Bulgarian organizations in those countries and to block machines, equipment, transport vehicles and bank accounts will increase considerably the economic damage done to Bulgaria.

The declaration recalls that the USSR was to deliver 2.5 million tons of Iraqi oil to Bulgaria until the end of the year. Under the circumstances, the USSR may not be able to supply Soviet oil to make up for all that quantity, the Bulgarian head of state pointed out.

To make things even worse, he went on to say, all this coincides with the deepening economic crisis in this country and with the start of far-reaching economic and political reforms which have to put Bulgaria's economic and political life on a new footing.

"This conjunction of circumstances places the country in an exceedingly difficult position. One might definitely say that after the target of aggression, Kuwait, Bulgaria is the most severely affected country," the Bulgarian head of state emphasized.

"These circumstances," the president went on to say, "compel Bulgaria to invoke the right under the UN Charter 'to consult the Security Council' with regard to a solution of the economic problems arising from the carrying out of the enforcement measures taken by the Security Council against Iraq."

The Bulgarian head of state made it clear that steps had been made to notify the governments of the United States, of the European Community countries and of other parties concerned of the losses which Bulgaria will suffer.

He expressed the hope that both the world body and the individual countries will be understanding of the problems with which the Bulgarian economy, already in dire straits, finds itself confronted in the changed situation.

The president said that the privatization which has started in Bulgaria is suspended because of speculative tendencies: the same people, who merely administered state property, now may well grab it up at giveaway prices. He assured his audience that this process, with the appropriate safeguards, will continue and that it will inevitably extend from trade and services to production. A land reform act will be passed soon, before the beginning of the autumn.

The full depolitization of the Army, the Police, the Law Courts, the Prosecutor's Office and the diplomatic corps is also a matter of the immediate future, and in this way these institutions will turn from partisan ones into purely state, all-national institutions, Dr Zhelyu Zhelev said. He explained that it is already a question of barring the employees of the listed institutions from membership in any political party.

Bulgarians Reportedly Leaving Kuwait 16 Aug

AU1908195290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 16 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] Early this morning cars and a bus are setting off from Kuwait carrying Bulgarians working in that country. They are mostly women and children, and are being accompanied by Dimitur Dimitrov, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Bulgarian Embassy in Kuwait, who will be able to deal with any difficulties that may arise. This information was received by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 14 August, and was announced to the press by Zdravko Velev, chief of department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

After traveling 120 km, the convoy will be met at the Iraqi border by representatives of our embassy in Baghdad, who will find them accommodation in the capital of Iraq in embassy buildings and hotels, so that they can rest and prepare for the subsequent journey to Amman.

The Bulgarian citizens evacuated from Kuwait will arrive in Bulgaria from Amman on 19 or 20 August, on Balkan [Bulgarian airlines] charter flights.

At the moment talks are in progress with Cyprus, Turkey, and Syria in order to provide an air corridor for the Balkan charter flights from Amman to Sofia. Additional measures have been taken to provide aircraft for the trip from Baghdad to Amman, which will undoubtedly make the journey easier for the women and children.

Four Bulgarian doctors working on private contracts will remain in Kuwait. Like all foreign medical workers, they have been mobilized. It is expected that two diplomats will remain in Kuwait, one official in the trade representation, and two or three Bulgarians from engineering organizations. Volunteers are now being sought to stay and protect Bulgarian property, and there are willing applicants for this work.

Zdravko Velev stated that the crisis has caught between 100 and 120 trucks of SOMAT [International Road Transport Economic Trust] in the region. Permission has been arranged with Turkey for them to cross the territory of our southern neighbor loaded with personal property belonging to the Bulgarians previously employed in Kuwait. Some Bulgarians will also travel with them in their own private cars.

About 750 Bulgarian specialists are in Iraq at the moment, accompanied by 150 women and children. Measures will be taken to get them out within the next few days since work on the construction sites has been suspended.

Transport Planes Sent to Amman

AU1908131590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Today at 1500 [1200 GMT] two TU-154 airplanes of the "Balkan" Bulgarian airlines took off for Amman. They will transport the Bulgarian citizens who now are in Kuwait back to Bulgaria. One of the airplanes took off from Sofia airport, the other departed Varna airport. The airplanes are expected to arrive in Amman between 1730 and 1800 [1430-1500 GMT].

Our special reporter Niko Petrov said a few minutes before take off that he will try to directly contact our radio's KHORIZONT Program sometime this evening from the airplane.

The "Balkan" Bulgarian Civil Aviation will announce the exact time of the landing later.

Departure Delayed for Some

AU1908191190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Our special reporter Niko Petrov has sent us this report from the Jordanian capital of Amman:

[Begin Petrov recording] The two TU-154 airplanes which will transport our citizens from Kuwait to Bulgaria landed this afternoon in Amman. The airplanes will be refueled and luggage will be loaded. We are expecting the arrival of the Bulgarian citizens at the airport. Balkan [Bulgarian airline] is organizing the transportation operation in a very precise manner. The goal is to do everything very quickly because tension in the area is growing. I am waiting for the meeting with the Bulgarians, but, as it now appears, the group will be smaller than originally expected. Initially it was expected that about 300 persons would be transported by the two airplanes, but, now we know that less than one-third are on their way to the airport. The reason for the delay is unknown. I shall try to report more details in subsequent report. This is Niko Petrov in Amman. [end recording]

We are maintaining constant telephone contact with Sofia Airport, where the arrival of the airplanes with Bulgarian citizens from Kuwait is eagerly awaited. A few moments ago Ivan Sokol, representative of "Balkan" Bulgarian Civilian Aviation, said:

[Begin Sokol recording] After the talk with Mr. Nikolov, our trade representative in Amman, we received information that the Bulgarian group had successfully crossed the border, and at the moment it is heading toward the airport in Amman. According to Mr. Spasov, charge d'affaires at our embassy, the group will arrive at the airport around 2200 [1900 GMT]. The "Balkan" airplanes are ready at Amman airport. The "Balkan" representatives have performed all the necessary preliminary work and there are no obstacles to the safe departure of the airplanes. [end recording]

Hope for Possible Boycott Compensation Discussed

AU1708162090 Sofia BTA in English 1339 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Aug (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev's first trip abroad will be to one of the great powers; his

visits to the United States, France and the USSR are being discussed. The sequence of his visits is not specified. For a period of one month no summit-level delegation is expected in Bulgaria.

The above was announced by Presidency Spokesman Valentin Stoyanov at his first news conference given today.

Bulgaria hopes that she will have the possibility of getting compensation for the losses suffered from the implementation of the UN Security Council resolution for imposing sanctions against Iraq. Her expectations were mentioned at the meetings Dr. Zhelev had with the ambassadors of the USSR and the United States, who appreciated the Bulgarian in-principle position and showed understanding for her anxiety as to the economic consequences of the implementation of the resolution in the country.

The head of the Office of the President, Mr. Ivaylo Trifonov, expressed the opinion which, according to him, the president shares, that now it is impossible to form a direct government coalition. Two draft programmes for overcoming the crisis are being worked out. If the Grand National Assembly reaches agreement on the implementation of the programmes, competent and qualified people can be found to carry them out, he stated.

The setting up of a Council on National Security with the Presidency is forthcoming.

It was announced that two new departments are to be set up: a Press Centre and a Centre for Analysis and Prognostication.

NATO Approach, Response to Gulf Crisis Viewed

AU1808170790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 16 Aug 90 p 4

[Ivanka Khlebarova commentary: "NATO and the Fire"]

[Text] At the start of the long hot summer, NATO Headquarters in Brussels had already reached the decision that the cold war was behind them, and set the course for developing a broader alliance beyond the previous integrated military structure.

However, Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait caught them unprepared, and strongly affected the 16 members of NATO. They immediately realized that there was a real threat of recession because of the rise in oil prices. For many of the members, who had experienced all kinds of crisis, both hot and cold, arms were the first thing to resort to. NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher immediately found the required formula: The pact should extend its role. However, when the 16 members convened in Brussels to discuss the situation in the Persian Gulf, they remembered that the organization's charter does not permit intervention outside the territories of the member countries. While the United Nations and the EC followed one another in taking their own measures, the political consultations continued in Brussels. In effect, what was under discussion were the possible steps which NATO could take, and which steps lay outside its competence. The talks went on, even though, as Andrew Duncan of the London International Institute of Strategic Studies pointed out, the members were aware that in such cases "speedy and immediate actions are needed, not talks for days on end."

On the other hand, NATO circles were pleased to establish two things. First, the Persian Gulf crisis would give an impetus to the idea of Atlantic solidarity put forward by the United States, which believes that the alliance does not have to be a purely military one. In this respect, the present lengthy political consultations serve as a kind of dry run. The second thing was that in a number of the members of the bloc, notably the United States, France, and Great Britain, where pressure is being applied to cut military expenditures, resistance can now be exerted against this idea, by reminding people that the West must maintain a viable Army, Air Force, and Navy at a time when "forest fires" during heat waves become an everyday reality. Mrs. Thatcher, one of the most perspicacious leaders in NATO, mentioned in Scotland as far back as two months ago that there was a smell of scorching from the Middle East. She turned out to be right.

Thus, while talks continue in Brussels concerning what is to be done, the members hope that the United States and Great Britain will do what is necessary for the time being, and the bloc will leave the issue of "extraterritorial" conflicts to be dealt with in the future.

USSR Trade Links Defended by Soviet Official

AU1808141190 Sofia BTA in English 1335 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Aug (BTA)—The energy crisis in Bulgaria is not caused by the USSR, claims the Soviet trade representative here Mr. Viktor Vasilyev. In an interview which appears in today's "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK" he says that between January 1 and August 6, 1990, the USSR delivered to Bulgaria 6,145 million tons of oil, which was merely 581,000 tons less than in the like period of last year. This difference cannot be the reason for the energy crisis in Bulgaria, Mr. Vasilyev emphasizes.

The Soviet trade representative declines to forecast oil deliveries until the end of the year, but says that over the last few years Bulgaria has been receiving an annual 11.4 million tons.

The interviewee makes it clear that during the current five-year term, deliveries will be reduced by some 7.5 million rubles to a level of 64 million rubles. The need to improve the composition of countertrade from the point

of view of national interests has long been underrated, the role of trade in the settlement of economic and social problems has weakened, Mr. Viktor Vasilyev says.

The trade representative admits that Bulgaria's national economy was largely built on the basis of orders for Soviet industry but along with that dismisses the allegations that the consumer goods shortages in Bulgaria are due to exports to the USSR. He cites statistics showing that consumer goods deliveries have dropped this year.

The interviewee disagrees with the criticism levelled at the USSR for foisting giant plants on Bulgaria as "monuments" to cooperation. In Mr. Vasilyev's view, the mechanical engineering plants in Radomir, Ruse and Khaskovo were built without sufficient motivation and without the participation of the USSR. As expected, the so-called third metallurgical base near Burgas also proved to be without reliable supplies, the trade representative says.

Cholera 'Spreading'; Travel, Imports Restricted

AU1808155590 Sofia BTA in English
1446 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Aug (BTA)—In connection with the danger of cholera spreading into this country, the Council of Ministers has adopted a decree whereby the travel of Bulgarians in their private capacity to Romania is temporarily discontinued. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been assigned to make immediate representations to Romania and the Soviet Union for a suspension of private trips to Bulgaria of all Romanian and Soviet citizens who live in areas with notified cases of cholera.

The import of foodstuffs, beverages and other items for personal use by citizens across the Bulgaro-Romanian border is temporarily prohibited.

The passenger traffic through the border checkpoints of Lom, Oryakhovo, Nikopol, Svishtov and Tutrakan, all on the River Danube, is temporarily stopped.

Foreign travellers, transiting Bulgaria across its northern border, are obliged to observe strictly the designated route and time for stay in the country. Customs and sanitary-epidemiological controls will be tightened at the border crossings.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will suggest that Romania enforce strict control on the Bulgarian citizens transiting Romania.

It was specified that Bulgarian and Romanian experts of the two health ministries will meet on August 22 and 23 to map out joint anti-epidemic and prophylactic measures to prevent the spread of the infection.

Romanian Report Admits Pollution by Giurgiu Works

AU1708195190 Sofia BTA in English
1901 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Ruse, 17 Aug (BTA)—The Bulgarian and Romanian experts of the joint commission of governmental experts set up in compliance with the protocol signed on July 4, 1990, by Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov and Prime Minister Petre Roman have exchanged their reports in which the technical and technological situation of the sources of environmental pollution in the Ruse-Giurgiu area is analysed and the real and potential threat they pose to the environment is assessed.

The Bulgarian experts established that Platform 1 of the Chemical Works in Giurgiu (Romania), which was stopped in 1988, is being dismantled. No agents or substances for chemical weapons have been produced by the works.

By stopping the installations at the beginning of this year in actual fact the Romanian side has admitted that the main source of pollution of the environment in the Ruse-Giurgiu area was the chemical works in Giurgiu. At the discussions the Romanian experts defended the position that the works could be turned into an ecologically clean project after complex and radical measures are taken for its reconstruction and updating on the basis of modern technical solutions and high technological discipline in the exploitation and the maintenance of the installations, by which the combined works will be rendered safe from [the] ecological point of view.

The Bulgarian experts categorically objected such a settlement of the ecological problems in the Ruse-Giurgiu area. It is their final position that having in mind what the present realities are and that the combined works is in immediate proximity to Ruse, the only acceptable solution would be to stop all productions in which chlorine is involved and to seek such changes in the structure of the works as to start ecologically clean productions.

The reports of the two sides of the joint commission of governmental experts will be submitted to the Governments of Bulgaria and Romania which are to make a final decision on this matter.

Zhelyu, Britain's Maxwell Discuss Investment

AU1708191890 Sofia BTA in English
1652 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Aug (BTA)—The president of the Republic, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, today received the British magnate, Mr. Robert Maxwell, who is paying a visit here, at the request of the latter.

The guest posed some questions related to his investments in Bulgaria as well as to the future investments he intends to make jointly with Springer.

Dr. Zhelev spoke about the problems of the political situation in the country and assured his guest that Bulgaria is going to have a strong government. In this connection Mr. Maxwell noted that such a government could guarantee his investments in the country.

The British businessman said that the position of Bulgaria on the Persian Gulf conflict enjoys the support of the Western business circles, which admit that Bulgaria is among the countries that are the most severely hit by the embargo imposed against Iraq. He mentioned his readiness to render assistance and help Bulgaria to get some aid for overcoming her difficulties arising from the developments in that part of the world.

The president of the Republic sent an oral message to the British premier, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher.

Zhelev Welcomes First South Korean Ambassador

AU1708142690 Sofia BTA in English 1126 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Aug (BTA)—The Bulgarian head of state Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev welcomed the first ambassador of the Republic of Korea here, who presented him his letters of accreditation today. Speaking at the ceremony, the president of the Republic said that the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries in March 1990 will help a rapid promotion of mutually advantageous cooperation.

Dr. Zhelev said he was convinced that the development of wide-ranging and stable contacts will contribute to the strengthening of international understanding and cooperation.

Mr. Kim Chwa-su sees his mission in the consolidation of the existing bilateral relations. He emphasized that his country's government hopes for greater and more fruitful bilateral efforts for the promotion of cooperation.

Midyear Figures Show Inflation, Decreased Output

AU1808163890 Sofia BTA in English 1616 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Aug (BTA)—The economic crisis in Bulgaria deteriorates, according to the January-July 1990 production figures, released by the Central Statistical Board today.

Output worth 38,900 million leva was produced in the seven months, which was 4,100 million or 9.4 per cent less than in the like period of 1989 (in 1990 prices). The slowdown tendency, which first made itself felt at the end of last year, persists. The main reasons are the shortage of raw and prime materials, the uncertain marketing, the shutting down of facilities for lack of profit, uncertain market prospects or environment hazards.

At the same time, average wages in the non-farming sectors grew 19.4 per cent, while the commodity output per worker in the same sectors grew merely 2.4 per cent (in current price terms).

Thirty-seven thousand people lost their jobs during the first seven months of the year.

In industry, productivity has dropped in all branches except in the textile and the tailoring industry. Performance was poorer in construction and transport. A smaller amount of fruits and vegetables was gathered in comparison with 1989. The number of all types of farm animals has decreased with the exception of hogs, and the production of milk has dropped by 20 million litres (1.5 per cent) and that of eggs by 85 million (5.9 per cent).

Exports have declined by 5,308.5 million foreign-currency leva.

Retail turnover has increased because of the marked up prices only.

Of 293 staple goods, 188 are scarcer on the home market. There is a large shortage of meat, fish, beans, lentils, eggs, children's clothes, knitwear, footwear, matches, soap, refrigerators etc.

Since May 1990 the Central Statistical Board has been monitoring retail prices of goods and services by direct registration in the shops. The cost of living index rose nearly 108 per cent from May to July.

Defense Minister on Cut in Military Service

AU1908123290 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 14 Aug 90 p 2

[Interview with Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, by Ivan Staevski in Sofia; date not given: "Compulsory Military Service"]

[Text] [Staevski] Are you satisfied with the attitude of the people's deputies to the draft law on amending the Law on General Military Service which you proposed?

[Dzhurov] As you saw, this issue provoked intense discussion. My expectations that all the members would approve the proposal to cut the period of military service of the conscripts were justified. Some members failed to understand the procedure, and many of the speakers dealt with issues not connected with the problem under discussion. The Ministry of National Defense is working on the drafting of three bills: on the Armed Forces, on national defense, and on the officers' statute. All the issues, which did not concern the problem of reducing the term of military service, will be dealt with in these three draft laws, which will be submitted to the Grand National Assembly for discussion in the near future.

[Staevski] Will the Army's fighting capability be reduced by the cuts in military service to 18 months for men with secondary education and to 12 months for those with

higher education? Approximately how many men will be lost, and how will this be compensated?

[Dzhurov] When making such a proposal, one naturally considers the state of the Army. However, the reduction in the term of service will not affect its combat capability. Studies and assessments have been made which show that during the last six months of service no new knowledge is acquired. In fact, it is simply unnecessary to retain these young men, who would be of more use in the national economy. More intensive instruction in the first phase of service and adequate opportunities for practical training in the second phase would be much more beneficial. The time has been calculated and a reallocation of resources has been made to ensure that the Army's standing combat-readiness is not reduced. It is difficult to give a precise figure for the reduction in the number of conscripts, but it is not so high as to make compensation necessary; it is about 10,000 to 12,000 men.

[Staevski] How do you view the proposals for a 12-month term of service, and is this possible under present conditions?

[Dzhurov] At the moment it is not possible, but we must move in this direction. Unfortunately, this question does not solely lie in the hands of the National Assembly and the Ministry of National Defense. The international situation, and our neighbors' readiness to disarm are the determining factors. However, given the worldwide trend toward disarmament, toward which both East and West are moving, I think that 12 months of service for soldiers with secondary education and six months for those with higher education is quite sufficient.

[Staevski] Many claim that a professional army would be much more beneficial for our conditions. What is your view?

[Dzhurov] This matter was raised both here in the National Assembly and in other places. However, the opinion that such an army would turn out less expensive for the country is a very naive idea. In actual fact, a professional army is preferable from the viewpoint of training, routine duties, quick response, and, in the last analysis, combat capability, but...in the crisis situation in which we are, it would empty the state's coffers, because it would be several times more expensive. The issue here is not only one of salaries, but also of the everyday provisions for the servicemen and their families. At the moment, I consider that the best solution is the combination of a professional officer corps and conscripted other ranks.

[Staevski] From the viewpoint of the country's security, how do you view the idea of Bulgaria joining NATO?

[Dzhurov] One should not consider this question in jest. Quite the contrary, the normalization of East-West relations might mediate to make such an act possible. The agreements of the Vienna forum on disarmament will make a big contribution. However, this question, as well as the reduction of military service to one year, depends exclusively on the international situation which, as we all see, is moving toward detente.

Velikov on Land 'Speculation' by Local Councils

AU1908123390 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 14 Aug 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Veliko Velikov, Assembly delegate from Veliko Turnovo and member of the parliamentary group of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, by Valentina Angelova in Sofia; date not given: "Land Speculation"]

[Text] In the chaos of political contradictions, a small group of people are clearly wasting no time in arranging their own material stability.

The citizen with no legal training does not care about the name of the document which is to introduce order into the sale of land, trading and tourist sectors, and enterprises; it can be called a moratorium, or any of the other names suggested. The important thing is that a record number of people have been caught in the muddy waters of corruption, reaching agreements in advance, avoiding real competition at auctions, and violating publicity requirements.

There is no reason to doubt M.P. Dimitur Ludhzev, who claims that the land sales benefit not only the representatives of the local authorities, but also their relatives. We have had bitter experiences over many years of the unrestricted power held by various municipal administrators.

Veliko Velikov is a member of parliament for Veliko Turnovo and member of the parliamentary group of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]. An economist by profession, he has worked as a deputy chairman of a municipal people's council, dealing with agriculture and allocating land for private use. He then became deputy chairman of the okrug cooperative union.

[Velikov] At the moment we are seeing the feverish selling off of land, public catering establishments, hotels, and premises for trade and services. This must stop, because people who have managed to get hold of incredibly large sums of money are making a killing. For example, they are paying 500,000 leva for hotels and restaurants, and the same thing is happening with land.

[Angelova] What is the solution?

[Velikov] I am mostly thinking of land. The selling off of land must be stopped, and the land should be returned to its owners, the people who at one time contributed it to the Labor Cooperative Farms.

[Angelova] Does not this threaten the cooperative farms?

[Velikov] No. We envisage three forms of ownership. When the land is returned to its owner, he decides how it is to be used.

[Angelova] What if this land forms part of a cooperative farm?

[Velikov] Then, the owner will be compensated with a parcel of land of the same quality. If he does not want to cultivate this land, he can hand it over to the cooperative, and he should receive a certain rent for his contribution. At present, the Bulgarian feels like a hired hand on his own land, which he is obliged to cultivate in return for a certain wage. Accordingly, he does not regard the land as his own, hence these great abuses arise. He steals from himself, and thinks he is robbing the farm.

[Angelova] How is one to resolve the issue of the plots of land which were distributed under ministerial decrees for private use. What if someone turns up with a notarial act and demands the field for himself?

[Velikov] In no circumstances can this be permitted to happen. The plots of land distributed by this method are steeply sloping, affected by erosion, or unsuitable for cultivation, yet under these conditions people have turned them into gardens of paradise, made many improvements, planted trees and shrubs, and laid roads. The former owners will simply have to be compensated with other plots.

Assembly Suspends Sales of State Property, Land

AU1708200090 Sofia BTA in English
1846 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Aug (BTA)—Today the Grand National Assembly decided to suspend the sales of land and other state and municipal property except for the sales effected to meet housing needs.

The third variant of the decision which was adopted today contains provisions for suspending the disposal of land, administrative, economic and tourist projects, housing accommodation and villas which are state or municipal property, as well as the disposal of real estate possessed by cooperative farms. These are transitional provisions which are to stop some violations without hindering the economic life. They will be valid until the problem is settled in a legislative way by the Council of Ministers, which should be done within a month.

The decision binds the political organizations to submit to the Grand National Assembly reports about the property they have acquired and how their property is disposed of.

This decision was made because some national representatives reported a number of municipal people's councils (the terms of which expire at the end of this month) are selling off land on a large scale, and because fears were expressed there may be cases of corruption when economic and tourists projects are privatized or leased.

In the meantime Premier Andrey Lukanov announced in the course of the discussion he had recommended to the municipal people's councils to temporarily suspend the sales of state property and the privatization of real estate.

Assembly Commission Works on Economic Program

AU1708185790 Sofia BTA in English
1744 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Aug (BTA)—The Committee on the Economic Policy of the Grand National Assembly will work out a programme for the transition to a market economy, but in actual fact the proposals are going to be a further development of the principles of the reform adopted by the National Roundtable, told a BTA reporter Ivan Kostov, a national representative of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). According to him this programme will guarantee the government the support of the parliament if the government acts in compliance with the programme, it will enjoy the support of the Bulgarian Parliament. This is the way in which we will try to strengthen the government, Mr. Kostov said.

Concerning the makeup of the future government, Ivan Kostov said it is too early to comment on it. The SDS has not been seriously asked to participate in the government, but we are already discussing what the reaction of the SDS to such a proposal should be, the SDS M.P. said.

Aleksandur Tomov, an M.P. of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) informed that the parliament is considering the Parliamentary Economic Committee's working out a programme which could provide a stable basis for the work of the future government. The programme cannot be made strictly concrete, he said. It should contain the basic ideas and instruments of the reform, he explained to a BTA reporter. In his opinion no government could survive if parliamentary consensus is not achieved as to such programme. What awaits us is extraordinarily unusual, it is too complicated to be implemented by a separate, detached group of people, he said, and did not rule out the possibility of the political forces coming out with alternative programmes of their own.

The main point is what programme could receive the support of the parliamentary majority. At that, it should not be the simple majority the BSP has in the Bulgarian Parliament, but a much broader majority, Aleksandur Tomov specified.

The official consultations on the formation of the new cabinet have not opened yet. To make it possible to proceed with official consultations, the Grand National Assembly should take a stand on the report of the previous government first and the president should entrust somebody with the task of forming a new cabinet, the M.P. said.

According to a proposal made at today's sitting, the Grand National Assembly will probably adopt a decision with regard to the report of the government early next week.

Government To Index Wages, Pensions 1 Sep

AU1908123490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 15 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] Under the agreement signed by the government, trade unions, and the National Union of Economic Leaders, the system for indexing wages and pensions will come into effect on 1 September. Until it comes into force, the Council of Ministers will halt further hikes in the prices that it controls.

A consumer basket of 600 goods and services will determine living costs, on the basis of the cost of these goods and services in June. Every month the Central Statistical Administration will publish an index showing the rise in prices and the minimum social subsistence level, which will be determined under the control of a public council of experts. The indexing will be carried out every six months, unless prices exceed the 10 percent "barrier," in which case the indexing will done at the start of the following month.

The agreement also defines the amount of the compensation. Full compensation will be provided for workers and employees receiving wages up to 170 percent of the minimum wage, and those receiving up to three times the minimum wage will receive 60 percent compensation, with progressive reductions further up the scale. Those receiving monthly pensions of up to 150 leva will also be fully compensated for price rises. As well as cash payments, citizens may also receive their compensation in the form of shares, bonds, term deposits, and so forth.

The government and trade unions agreed to fully cover the costs of bringing up children through monthly children's allowances, and to provide full compensation for student grants and allowances for looking after children of up to two years of age.

In order to protect the population's savings, an investigation will be completed by 30 October into the possibility of indexing certain forms of savings, and a proposal for compensation for such savings will be submitted to parliament.

Compensation for Pensions in Event of a 10-Percent Increase in Prices

Amount of Pension, leva	Compensation:	
	in leva	in percent
Up to 100	10	10
101 to 120	11	10
121 to 130	12.50	10
131 to 150	14	10
151 to 200	15	8.1
201 to 250	15	6.7
251 to 300	16.50	6
Above 300	18	5.5

Two Socialist Deputies Resign; Third Not Allowed

AU1708200190 Sofia BTA in English 1929 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Aug (BTA)—The request of writer Yordan Radichkov, a national representative elected on the proportional representation list of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), to retire from his seat today provoked heated parliamentary debates.

His wish to retire was announced a week ago along with the requests of another two M.P.'s of the BSP. The three of them stated they supported the platform of the BSP, but in their opinion their professional occupations would make it impossible to discharge adequately their duties as parliamentarians. The opposition immediately accused the BSP of having made use of their popularity for aggregating more votes.

In the meantime a recording of Yordan Radichkov's statement was aired on TV in which he said his giving up the seat in parliament was agreed in advance.

Today Yordan Radichkov took the floor and added to his motives his wish to give his seat to a younger and more competent man "unburdened by the heritage of the nomenclature."

Today he reproached both the representatives of his party and of the opposition for forgetting the expectations and the needs of the people. The writer is embittered by the rancour, the rudeness and unceremoniousness of both sides. "Sometimes I think it's just political ravings," Yordan Radichkov said and added that he himself felt inadequate in the present situation of political polarization.

Yordan Radichkov did not aggregate enough votes to get his term discontinued. The other two M.P.'s were relieved of their obligations as parliamentarians.

BSP Council Decides on Drastic Organization Cuts

AU1708081790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 14 Aug 90 p 2

[Angel Bonev report]

[Text] The number of political staff is to fall by 79 percent, and only 12 percent of technical staff will remain in their jobs. Only 2,275 people are being retained of the nearly 14,000 people who made up the staff establishment in 1989. In the municipal party councils, for example, only 665 political workers are to remain from the 4,061 people who previously held jobs. Technical personnel and staff providing services are being reduced from 3,091 to 375. This decision was made at the 13 July session of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

Similar cuts are being made in the apparatus of the Supreme Party Council itself. Only 168 of the former

554 political workers will keep their jobs, and big cuts are being made in service personnel.

What is to become of the former scientific institutes belonging to the party? A "Dimitur Blagoev" Foundation is being set up, based on the former Academy for Social Sciences and Social Management, the Institute of History of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Central Party Archive, and the library attached to the Supreme Party Council. This transformation will reduce the numbers of scientific and teaching staff by about 80 percent, while only four percent of the auxiliary and technical staff will remain. This foundation will operate on the self-financing principle.

The Social Management Institute, Computer Center, and Museum of the Revolutionary Movement are being transferred to other central and regional organizations and departments. The number of staff employed at the Buzludzha Peak Memorial House is being reduced by half for the time being. The management of the Georgi Dimitrov Museum is at present only discussing maximum staff cuts and a changeover to self-financing.

Financial funding will be cut even more drastically. It is certain that very many chairmen of party councils and party officials will find themselves holding unpaid honorary posts. The forthcoming party congress will probably have to review the amount of the membership subscription. Additional funds may come from sponsors—the Law on the Parties allows this. The party will have to rely more on economic activities. The organization of labor, cultural, and other aid initiatives will also help the municipal party councils in collecting funds.

SDS' Beron Critical of Sofia 'Town of Truth'

AU1908123590 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 15 Aug 90 p 3

[Anita Stanslavova report]

[Text] At a meeting with members and supporters of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], SDS leader Petur Beron stated that the attitude towards the so-called "Towns of Truth" should vary in relation to the stage of their development. Regarding those who continue to lounge about in front of the Presidency, he expressed the view that the individuals who had done honor to the symbolic town had already left it, leaving behind "extreme elements and a large number of good-for-nothings." "The result is," Beron said, "that the Sofia Town of Truth does not serve as a good advertisement for the SDS, because people know that many of our sympathizers are resident there...."

As far as the Towns of Truth in the rest of the country are concerned, the SDS leader justified their existence, provided that they are campaigning for solutions to certain local problems. He also stated this on a visit to the Plovdiv Town of Truth. alluding in this way to the limits of reasonable and just protest, which can count on support from the SDS. Although disillusioned by the extremely modest role granted to them in sociopolitical life, the inhabitants of the Town of Truth in Plovdiv resolved to strongly defend their autonomy. On the very next day they issued two documents for publication, the contents of which were limited to regional demands.

Opposition Gains Support in Postelection Poll

AU1708140190 Sofia BTA in English 1112 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Aug (BTA)—In the first sociological survey of Bulgarians' post-election attitudes, 38 per cent of the 3,093 respondents said they voted for the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), and 40 per cent for the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). Knowing the election results (a convincing victory of over 50 per cent for the BSP), pollsters believe that those interviewed in a way "backdated" their vote, i.e. said how they would vote if the elections were held now.

Bulgarians do not think the future holds out optimistic prospects: 47 per cent said that after the parliamentary elections their way of life has deteriorated or has not changed; 53 per cent would accept the deterioration "only if it is for a short period and only if it leads to an improvement"; 28 per cent categorically say that everybody should have their fair share of the difficulties. Bulgarians take a realistic view of their present condition: 64 per cent of those interviewed said that "belt-tightening is unavoidable."

The replies on the inevitable effects of the economic crisis are less categorical. Only 40 per cent agree that unemployment is inevitable. The comparable figures are 44 per cent for price rises, 30 per cent for consumer goods shortages, 52 per cent for the influx of foreign capital, 31 per cent for a division into rich and poor, 44 per cent for the reinstatement of former land owners, and 33 per cent for the privatization of industry.

The respondents are divided over the fastest way in which Bulgaria can get out of the crisis. As few as 8 and 3 per cent, respectively, count on free enterprise and Western aid; 38 per cent believe that a way out of the crisis will be found if an end is put to strikes and rallies, and 32 per cent see a way out in the replacement of incompetents, and 10 per cent in a change of government.

The survey shows that Bulgarians' foreign-policy awareness is amorphous and undivided. However, the previous ideologized foreign political orientations are breaking up, and the bipolar dynamism of international relations and the "bloc" ideas of Bulgaria's place in the world are being abandoned. Merely 14 per cent of those interviewed want Bulgaria to maintain relations above all with the Soviet Union, and 2 per cent with the countries of the former East bloc; 57 per cent favour Bulgaria's contacts with all states on the basis of benefit; 39 per cent believe that there is a country which threatens Bulgaria, and three-quarters of them identify that country as Turkey.

The poll revealed a tendency towards ethnopolitical homogenization: The Turkish ethnocultural group and the Pomaks are evidently prepared to get integrated into national political life through Mr. Ahmed Dogan's Movement for Rights and Freedoms. Only three respondents identified themselves as "Macedonians," which is statistically insignificant.

Poll Shows BSP Losing, SDS Gaining Support

AU1808201090 Sofia BTA in English 1817 GMT 18 Aug 90

["Political Forces' Prestige Draws Level"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 18 Aug (BTA)—The prestige of the Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party (BSP) has dropped and the prestige of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) has increased over the two months since the Grand National Assembly elections. Now the two major political forces enjoy an equal share of confidence with the electorate. In the elections the BSP received 52 per cent and the SDS 36 per cent of the vote.

Asked in a public opinion poll whether they would vote for the same party now, 60.4 per cent of the respondents confirmed their support for the BSP, 79.6 per cent for the SDS, 90.7 per cent for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms and 58.4 per cent for the BZNS. These are the four major political forces represented in parliament.

General Atanas Semerdzhiev, vice president of the Republic, has the highest rating among the politicians. He is followed closely by Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, the first non-communist president over the last 45 years. The approval for Dr. Zhelev increased 30 per cent over the last month.

The prime minister, Mr. Andrey Lukanov, enjoys steady high support during the last five months. Next comes the leader of the SDS-affiliated Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, Dr. Petur Dertliev.

Over two-thirds of those interviewed support the idea of a coalition government.

Opposition Daily Views Lukanov's Economic Report

AU1708130390 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 8 Aug 90 p 1

[Irina Yordanova and Georgi Koritarov report: "Arsenic and the Old Lace of Foreign Currency"]

[Text] Andrey Lukanov's long-awaited day finally arrived. So impatient was he to tender the government's resignation that he even upset the agenda. It seemed to be a kind of apology in advance for the report that parliament was obliged to hear. For an hour and a half, the prime minister in retirement read the assessment of the economic collapse. The hall steadily emptied. We asked some members of parliament in the coffee room if they were not interested in hearing Lukanov's disheartening disclosures. They all replied that such texts should be carefully read, not listened to as they were being read aloud at high speed.

Once again, someone had not done his job properly, and the people's representatives did not receive a written answer. This was why Ivan Kostov (of the Union of Democratic Forces) [SDS] asked for the debate on the report to be adjourned until Friday [10 August]. He emphasized that it was very important to analyze the material, because on the basis of the report certain powers will be granted to the future government in order to seek a solution to the crisis. The reaction of Ventseslav Dimitrov (SDS) was justifiably sharp. He demanded a complete financial report from the bank. In every country, the national bank is in the center of the fight against inflation, he stated, and reprimanded Lukanov's economic advisers for not understanding this. Inflation loves to deck itself with the old lace of foreign currency. Mr. Dimitrov accused the former government of blaming the leap in prices solely on the producers. These are tall stories for the credulous. The government bears the responsibility not only for the increased prices for petroleum products, but also, if you like, for the higher price of beer.

Who possesses what and how was it acquired?—the SDS parliamentary union submitted a draft declaration to unravel this issue two weeks previously. However, instead of providing an answer, yesterday Vasil Kolarov (of the Bulgarian Socialist Party) [BSP] read the socialist version of the same declaration, with "slight" differences, such as the law of limitations. The BSP wants the balance to be drawn only for the last seven months; yet surely, it is more honest for us to go back at least 40 years. One must admit that once upon a time a Bulgarian Communist Party did exist. In the final event, the BSP succeeded in imposing its inexplicable wish through the vote, and it was agreed that the two draft declarations on the property holdings of the political parties be examined in the first instance by a special commission. This commission will be elected today. Upon a proposal by an SDS member, it was decided that the people's deputies should also declare their personal property holdings.

There is a danger that the Topolnitsa Reservoir, which is full of arsenic, may overflow within a few days. Petur Slabakov was obliged to issue this warning twice, and only then did the Grand National Assembly order the prime minister to provide precise information on the situation today.

Officers Group: Soldiers Should Avoid Politics

AU1708185490 Sofia BTA in English 1747 GMT 17 Aug 90

["Military Men Should Not Engage in Politics, Officers Say"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 17 Aug (BTA)—We are seriously worried by the continuing political tension in the country and by

the attempts of the political forces to subordinate it to their interests, it is said in the address of the Provisional Coordinating Council of the Bulgarian G. S. Rakovski Officers' Legion. The address has been sent to the president of the Republic and the chairman of the Grand National Assembly.

The officers who are members of the clubs of the legion are called upon to immediately discontinue their membership and activity in political parties and movements. The legion proposes to ban by a law the membership of officers and sergeants, of the personnel working in the Army for a fixed period of time, and of the military employees in the Bulgarian People's Army in political parties and movements, to take immediately measures to discontinue the activity of the political parties and movements in the Army and to prohibit the military men to take part in elections for the state bodies.

'Socialist Realism' Dropped From School Curricula

AU1808201890 Sofia BTA in English 1709 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Aug (BTA)—Works by Bulgarian writers mythologized by the regime as "pillars" of the so-called "socialist realism" will be dropped from the school curricula for the new academic year which will start on September 15.

Fourth to eleventh-graders will no longer be required to learn by heart poems praising communism and the Communist Party, "socialist construction," the "life-giving bulgaro-soviet friendship," "the leader of the world revolution Lenin," etc.

The Ministry of National Education has compiled a list discontinuing the mandatory study of works by Kamen Kalchev, Mladen Isaev, Asen Bosev, Nikolay Zidarov, Tsvetan Angelov, Anastas Stoyanov, Veselin Andreev, Penyo Penev, Slav Khr. Karaslavov, Georgi Dzhagarov and other writers tolerated by the communist regime over the last 40 years, who had turned into the acknowledged legislators of the partisan propaganda style on the literary scene.

The 10th grade textbook, for instance, has had its sections on "Marxist criticism", "proletarian literature" and "literature between the two world wars" radically revised. The idea is to replace gross sociologization and ideological vulgarization by a genuine literary judgement.

The experts at the ministry say the changes are still "cosmetic" and that the really big changes are yet to come. For most grades there will be no new textbooks. Teachers, however, will be free to choose their teaching materials and the method of instruction and to stress discussion.

"The time of the capable teacher has finally arrived," writes Mrs. Nikolina Sevdanova in "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK."

At the end of last year there were riots of sorts among senior graders. Some refused to attend literature and history classes, protesting against the mandatory study of "socialist realism" works and falsified history.

Prof. Milena Tsaneva of Sofia University emphasizes that what is needed is a rereading rather than a review. In her view, a review may be subjective. Associate Professor Venche Popova of the same university indicates that free thinking traditions have been interrupted in the Bulgarian school. She believes that the study of literature as an art in inextricable unity with the idiom of the works should be emphasized.

The mandatory study of the so-called ideological subjects in the country's institutes of higher learning was dropped at the end of last and the beginning of this year.

Sliven M.P.'s Demand Mayor Answers Charges

AU1808200990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] The leaders of the political organizations in Sliven held a regular meeting today, in connection with the Town of Truth and the intention of its mayor, Major Svetoslav Gospodinov, to set fire to himself as a form of protest on 21 August.

The meeting was held on the insistence of four local members of parliament—Snezhana Botusharova, Ivan Krustev, Vasil Dolapchiev, and Stoyan Stoyanov. Agreement was reached that the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Sliven Municipal People's Council, whose resignation was being demanded, should publically answer, via the press and before the citizens of Sliven, all the letters of protest written to their mayor.

Through this announcement, which they insisted should be disseminated by the BTA, the members of parliament hope to calm the situation.

Iraqis Trained in Chemical Warfare in Brno

AU1708131590 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 10 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Jakub Karfik report: "Iraq, Sanctions, and Us"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Can we equate our self-satisfaction from the swift measures taken in Czechoslovak foreign policy with the fact that, at the foreign (fourth) faculty of the Military Academy in Brno (and perhaps elsewhere), the Iraqi dictator's cadets are still being trained in various specialist areas? Will the possible claim stand up today that this involves contracts signed by the pre-velvet republic—particularly when, apparently, two new long-term contracts were concluded during the past two months—whose financing by a not very reliable partner is rather uncertain? The Security Council's resolution primarily concerns military supplies; and our government, then, should consider this Iraqi cannon fodder as such.

However, alarm will not only be aroused by the reports about the training of future officers. The appropriate organs should also either refute or confirm the reports that employees from the Iraqi company al-Kindi Establishment, which operates a chemical plant near Mosul in northern Iraq, recently arrived in Czechoslovakia. What exactly the plant produces, or intends to produce, is unknown. Perhaps it is not meant to be known, because—although it is situated in a region where the majority of Kurds live—its employees are nonresident Arabs from as far away as Basra and the southern regions. Some of them are traveling even further north with the assistance of the trade consul at our representative office in Baghdad (and also with the assistance of the Omnipol representative, who has extensive experience with secret military supplies). Apparently, they will travel to Ceske Pardubice and some of them will continue on to Brno directly to the Military Academy. It does not even matter that, allegedly, passport formalities are not in order. At the Military Academy, where they are described as civilian chemical engineers, special courses are held; however, these courses are far from civilian chemical theory. The contract, it is said, is advantageous for us: $17,000 per capita, per month. For instance, it is advantageous for us, or so we hear, because the Iraqi specialists are not exactly satisfied with the level of our knowledge in chemical warfare. Thus, we can have a clear conscience. The Iraqis have a rich and well-known experience in the use of chemical weapons. The Kurds have their own experience with them, although they do not work in this field. [passage omitted]

98 Citizens Arrive in Baghdad From Kuwait

LD2008110290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry announced that the first group of 98 of the total of 124 Czechoslovak citizens arrived in Baghdad from Kuwait early this morning [20 August]. They will travel on to Amman. Their transfer was organized by the employees of our diplomatic missions in Iraq and Kuwait.

All the Czechoslovak citizens are in good health. The evacuation of other people will continue in the next few days, depending on the arrangement of formalities necessary for leaving Iraq.

Interior Minister on Romanian Refugees, Asylum

LD1808111690 Prague Television Service in Slovak 2005 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Statement by Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos in Prague—live]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens: You have certainly become aware through the mass media and your own experience that several hundred Romanian citizens have arrived in our republic during the past few days.

The CSFR Government discussed this situation and decided to appoint a government commissioner for refugees. Mr. Jan Ruml, my first deputy, was appointed to this post. He is to convene a commission of experts from various professions and fields to meet over the next few days. Its task will be to prepare a proposal on how to tackle, legally and practically, the entire issue of refugees on our territory. At the same time, the government commissioner will set up a working group to secure immediate aid for these Romanian citizens.

At this time, I wish to thank all those who helped, offered help, or intend to offer help. I am convinced that without the help of voluntary organizations as well as individual citizens, the authorities would not be able to cope with the task that is suddenly facing us.

The situation of the Romanian citizens on our territory—and, by the way, we faced a similar problem with the Kurds a few weeks ago—truly demands that some concepts be finalized; this concerns, above all, those who are entitled to enjoy the rights of political asylum and of refugees.

None of us probably doubts that it is our duty to receive those people who cannot live in their own country for political reasons. Regarding the specific cases of those refugees from Romania who ask for political asylum, the Ministry of Interior, after agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the organizations concerned, will submit their requests for asylum to the CSFR Government, which will then decide on them.

Understandably, we will carefully study the reasons behind the refugees' requests. The rumors being spread that anybody who enters the territory of our republic can automatically get political asylum are totally absurd. The commission led by Mr. Ruml is also charged with submitting to the CSFR Government a proposal on conferring political asylum.

The question of refugees is slightly different. Those foreign citizens who are or will be on our territory and

will not acquire or will not attempt to acquire political asylum will be considered refugees.

Regarding a person who does not wish to live in his own country, I do not think it is possible to forcibly deport him. Nevertheless, the legal as well as the practical situation of a refugee is different from that of a person who acquires political asylum. A refugee can find neither lawful employment nor accommodation outside a refugee camp. Despite this, we should perceive refugees as people in need, whom we should strive to offer at least basic aid.

During the period of the totalitarian regime, many of our republic's citizens left their country and enjoyed democratic countries' hospitality. I am convinced that if we really wish to become a developed democratic state, we are obligated, among other things, to repay this debt. I understand that it is difficult to accept in our midst foreigners who have completely different traditions, habits, and customs. Nevertheless, we will have to get accustomed to similar difficulties.

I hope that those people who seek refuge in our country will feel that they are among civilized people who are capable of perceiving and understanding troubles different from their own.

Deputy Foreign Minister on Relations With PRC

AU1708173590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Aug 90 p 8

[Interview with Vera Bartoskova, deputy minister of foreign affairs "in charge of Asia, Africa, Central and Latin America, Australia and Oceania," by PRAVDA correspondent Alena Borovickova; place and date not given: "Beyond the Borders of Europe"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Borovickova] What would you say about China? Do we have a clearly formulated policy toward this country, or is it a mystery?

[Bartoskova] Czechoslovakia recognizes the principle of the unity and indivisibility of China. We have traditional, long-term relations with it. Our relations were not devoid of problems in the past, and they are not problem-free even now. I personally devote a great deal of attention to relations with China because I consider them very important, but, at the same time, very sensitive. I am in favor of an active dialogue involving an exchange of views and standpoints, not only on bilateral relations, but also on world politics. I had the pleasure of "escorting" to China our new ambassador, Dr. Borivoj Cuda, a sinologist well acquainted with this country from his previous stay (after 1968 he was banned from work in the diplomatic service). I regard him as a very knowledgeable and wise man, and I am convinced that he can contribute toward forging a correct, mutual understanding, and to a healthy, objective development of bilateral relations. [passage omitted]

Havel Holds National Political Talks in Prague

LD1708203390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Representatives of the Federal, Czech, and Slovak Governments and representative of the coordination centers of Civic Forum and Public Against Violence [VPN] have continued the working talks of the representatives of all three governments, linked to the meeting in Trencianske Teplice, at Prague Castle today, in the presence of President Vaclav Havel.

They expressed their conviction that the public interests of the nations and nationalities living with the CSFR corresponds with the development of the federative organization of the state of their dignified common home.

They agreed on the necessity to define again the meaning, content, and sovereignty of our federal state and the range of jurisdictions that will be given to it by the two sovereign national republics.

The participants also emphasized that we are creating the bases for a legal democratic state under conditions whereby the acceleration of economic reforms and the changeover to a socially oriented market economy are seriously complicated by unfavorable external economic influences and the persistence of old bureaucratic power structures in the state apparatuses and the economic sphere. The enemy of our effort is not the national republics' striving for independent decisionmaking, but, above all, the surviving structures—whether on the level of the federation, of the republics, or of local bodies of state power and administration. From this standpoint the transfer of some executive powers from the federation to national republics and lower self-managing units is today seen as a desirable step in attaining an optimum functioning of the common state.

The representatives of the Federal, Czech, and Slovak Governments and the representatives of the coordination centers of Civic Forum and VPN reject displays of separatism which could be heard, for example, at the meeting of some political officials in Slovakia. They do not consider them to be a representative voice of the Slovak peoples. They also distance themselves from some attitudes of superfluous offense and disparagement in the Czech lands. They emphasize that the demand for redefining the jurisdiction of the republics is not based on opposition to a federal base for the state, but on the need to link up with the ideas of constitutional law in the Czechoslovak Federation, which were negated by later legislation and practice.

The participants in today's talks at Prague Castle appeal to the commissions of experts set up to work out proposals on new definitions for jurisdictions, which will be put forward as soon as possible for discussion to the governments, national councils, and political forces—and to the Federal Assembly—for approval.

All participants in today's meeting at Prague Castle see as an important contribution of the Trencianske Teplice meeting the pledge to work out a common constitutional document about the rights and liberties of the citizens. This constitutional document will represent not only the basis for democratic federation, but also another step by the CSFR toward the family of European states. At the same time a constitutional court of the federation will be set up as a supreme body for the protection of civic rights and liberties.

The representatives of all three governments and of the coordination centers of Civic forum and VPN, in the presence of President of the Republic Vaclav Havel at Prague Castle, also voiced their hope that all relevant bodies will endorse this common constitutional document in such a way that it is possible to solemnly declare it at the first anniversary of our nation's embarkation on the path of freedom and democracy—that is, on 17 November 1990.

Calfa Briefs Ministers on Havel Meeting

LD1808104190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] At an extraordinary government session held in Prague early this evening, federal government Premier Marian Calfa informed its members about talks held by representatives of all three governments, Civic Forum, and Public Against Violence with Vaclav Havel, president of the Republic, about key questions of the constitutional arrangement of our state.

The government agreed with the conclusions of these talks. It takes an active part in all-round work aimed at delimiting the powers of the federation and the republics in the best way possible. At the same time, it stressed that this work should not hinder our economic reform. The federal government will continue to strive to fulfill the tasks it has set for itself in this field in a timely and correct way.

Slovak Premier Meciar on Decentralization

LD1908120690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1030 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] We begin this news bulletin with the latest report on today's long-awaited press briefing at the Slovak Government office in Bratislava on the results of the [Czech, Slovak and federal] government talks in Trencianske Teplice. Our editor Michal Tvarozek has come into the studio with the first details.

[Tvarozek] Let me begin with an idea voiced by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, which is significant not only for the talks in Trencianske Teplice, but also for the future course of the political and economic reconstruction of the federation: The affinity of our cultures, languages, and history is a guarantee that our nations will wish to continue to live together, but the allocation of powers is not irrelevant, and this is what gives rise to the proposals for changes in the jurisdiction and composition of the federal bodies. The defense of the state should continue to remain a federal matter; however, the Slovak Government is seeking guarantees for equally consistent protection of the Slovak section of the border, reinforcement of the border guard, and the possibility of Slovak conscripts serving on our territory, Slovakia. The jurisdiction of the federal Ministry of the Interior should cover only our relations with Interpol, centralized records, and the investigation of serious crimes such as terrorism, drugs, and so forth. Control of the police should be at the republican level. There is also a demand for the monopoly of foreign trade to be broken and to dispense these powers to the republican bodies, which will in turn pass them down to the enterprises.

The Slovak Government is also seeking greater powers in the area of foreign relations, so that it can enter this field in its own right. In this connection it is certainly not without interest that the number of foreign representative missions in Slovakia is expected to double. Another proposal, which is also supported by the Czech and Slovak national governments, is that metallurgy, energy, and coal mining should be transferred to the jurisdiction of the national governments, which would mean that while we would pay the Czech Republic for electricity, we would receive payment for the transport of oil and natural gas, for example. This change in budgetary rules for reciprocal payments should come into effect beginning 1 January 1991. That is all for now on the press briefing given at the government office.

Meciar Supports Federation

LD1908151190 Prague CTK in English 1433 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Bratislava Aug 19 (CTK)—"We are of the opinion that the federation on the principle of independence and equality of the two national republics suits best the interests of the Czech and Slovak nations", Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar told journalists here today.

"We reject the accusation of trying to destroy the Czechoslovak federation. If we want to destroy something, it is centralism and bureaucracy. We want to change the federation to a better and more effective model", he went on to stress.

He added that the efforts of the Slovak Government to urgently solve the problems of the federation stems from the fact that many problems are bigger in Slovakia.

Vladimir Meciar stressed that the present process and the efforts to settle the relations in the federation are not anti- Czech. In this connection, he pointed out that though the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation was adopted in 1968, in the following years, power was greatly centralized and laws that weakened the effectivity of the federation were adopted. The federation was not practically pursued in Slovakia.

"It is non-functioning of the federation that leads to dissatisfaction of the population in both the republics, and to expressions of nationalism, chauvinism and separatism on both sides. If we postpone tackling these problems, separatist tendencies would strengthen not because the parties which are for an independent Slovak state would have a comprehensive program, a sort of project for solving economic, social and other problems, but they gain votes due to the dissatisfaction of the population," Vladimir Meciar said.

He pointed to consequences of centralism, which, for instance, led to the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and to serious problems in Yugoslavia, and stressed that Czechoslovakia does not want anything like that.

In conclusion, Meciar emphasized that at the talks in Trencianske Teplice, West Slovakia, on August 8-9, and during the following talks with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, representatives of the governments agreed that the idea of creating an independent Slovak state is unacceptable. "It would do harm both to Slovaks and to Czechs. That is why the disintegration of the common state is not our program", Vladimir Meciar stressed.

Slovak Premier on Troop Redeployment, Minorities

LD1908194490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] The Slovak premier [Vladimir Meciar] has been talking about the redeployment of military forces. According to the premier, a part of the military force in the western part of Czechoslovakia should be redeployed to Slovakia. Vladimir Meciar gave the reason for this as being that after the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, the soldiers were stationed mainly at the country's western border, thus creating a vacuum in Slovakia; and now, in the interests of their security, they wish to gain guarantees equal to those of the Czechs.

In connection with the situation of the Magyar minority, the premier from Bratislava said they wish to hold negotiations on this within international frameworks, and not on the bilateral basis proposed by the Hungarian Government.

Slovak National Party Head on Republic's Status

LD1808105690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Report on interview with Slovak National Party Chairman Vitazoslav Moric by Bratislava Radio editor Igor Matlon in Bratislava; date not given]

[Text] Over the past few days, public attention has been drawn to the talks between Slovak parties—particularly nationalist-oriented ones—which resulted in a joint statement. Various rumors are circulating about this meeting, which CTK reported on briefly. It was convened at the initiative of the Slovak National Party and the Independent Party of Slovaks. For this reason, our editor Igor Matlon went to see Vitazoslav Moric, the Slovak National Party chairman.

[Begin recording] [Moric] First, I should say that the nationalist-oriented Slovak political parties met on Tuesday [14 August] with a different aim. Originally they intended to discuss in particular the regional elections and the earliest-possible codification in the Slovak language law as the official state language in Slovakia without exception. Our summit then widened to include a discussion of the meeting between the Czech and Slovak Republic prime ministers in Trencianske Teplice.

[Matlon] Tuesday's statement by the Slovak nationalist-oriented political parties says, and I quote: We see the future of Slovakia in the formation of a sovereign independent Slovak Republic with its own national identity. What led you to take this step, and what do you mean by the future?

[Moric] You can only find out what anyone's capabilities are if you let them get down to work. This applies both to individuals and to society. We Slovaks do not even yet know what we are capable of because we have not been allowed to work freely and normally solely for our own nation. Certain politicians have stated as an absolute truth that an integration process is currently under way in Europe. But this is not true because Europe in fact extends as far as the Urals, not only as far as As [town on western border of Czechoslovakia].

We know that in East Europe just the opposite is happening at the moment. Individual nations are becoming aware of their national identity and want to create their own national state units, their own national republics. The Ukrainians, for example, have declared that their own laws take precedence over Soviet ones, and the same applies in other Soviet republics, which, it seems, we will soon be calling former Soviet republics.

Developments that have taken place in Czechoslovakia from 1918 to date have brought our republic to the verge of economic collapse. We have basically become a developing country, and we can therefore go along with the argument that in our country there is a logical process of creating two new republics. I would compare it to the division of the British Empire in the sixties. This means that I see no reason why we should not set up our own independent, autonomous Slovak Republic with its own national identity. I do not see anything rejectionist, separatist, or the like about that. All I am saying is this: let us see what the Slovaks are capable of.

I would say this about the future: The future of the Slovak nation will be decided by the Slovaks alone, and when it happens will also be a decision for the Slovak nation alone. It will not be decided by our party, and we do not usurp that right.

[Matlon] Many people are no doubt asking whether independence for Slovakia at this time will lead to economic prosperity. The Slovak national coalition's statement, if we can call it that, makes no mention of

this. I personally believe that now that the revolutionary euphoria has waned, people are most interested in whether their standard of living will rise or fall than in the kind of setup—a federation, confederation, or an independent state—they are going to live in.

[Moric] I would not call it just revolutionary euphoria; I would call it a kind of national revolutionary euphoria. If we were not convinced that the independence of Slovakia would lead to its economic prosperity, then we would not seek to achieve that. We must realize that at present Slovakia does not have the kind of processing industry to produce consumer durables and electronic consumer goods. All the finishing or most of the final production is in the Czech lands.

Let me put it like this: At present the Slovak National Party is moving from a nationalist platform to a nationalist social one. I would say that we as a people are aware of our nationhood. We have woken up. Now our platform must become a social one, too. We must create intellectual and material prosperity in Slovakia because without that we cannot exist. Then we must take our place as equals among the republics of a future confederated Europe in two chairs—as the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. For this, however, we must, and I repeat this, gain our independence and elevate ourselves in economic, cultural, and material terms, because only in this way will the nations of Europe accept us among them. I can say that at the moment we have excellent economists in Slovakia standing behind us. Among them are both young and older experts, and we believe that these people will manage to put together the kind of program which the Slovaks have wanted ever since they began emigrating overseas in search of work and bread. [end recording]

People's Party Welcomes Slovak Autonomy Initiative

LD1708191490 Prague CTK in English 1606 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 17 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak People's Party has welcomed the outcome of Wednesday's [15 August] session of representatives of three Slovak government parties—the Christian Democratic Movement, the Democratic Party and the Public Against Violence—who expressed resolve to develop Slovakia's autonomy within Czechoslovakia.

The party said in its statement here today that this approach proves that influential political forces in Slovakia are able to help settle the situation in a way corresponding with the interests of the Slovak nation. The Czechoslovak People's Party fully supports it, the document said.

Party Grouping Proposes 1991 Local Elections

LD1708125790 Prague CTK in English 1219 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 17 (CTK)—The political commission of the Assembly of Political Parties, Movements and Associations in Czechoslovakia has proposed that the local elections, due to take place in Autumn, be postponed until the spring of 1991.

The Assembly was set up on February 7, 1990 as an open community of political parties and organizations aiming to seek ways of building a democratic and humanistic society in Czechoslovakia through dialogue and a free exchange of opinions. The assembly comprised 28 political parties and movements and 45 associations at the end of June.

The reason for the postponement of the local elections was given to CTK by the leadership of the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum political party, a member of the Assembly, on August 16. In its opinion, first of all the reconstruction of local administration, planned for the autumn of 1990, should be completed so that local elections can take place in new conditions. The forum believes that also the completion and discussion of a new election law will require certain time.

The purpose of the reconstruction of the system of local administration in Czechoslovakia is to replace national committees at various levels by consistently autonomous bodies in the individual towns and villages. The national committees as the bodies of local administration became discredited in the past years as mere executors of the will of the Communist Party regardless of particular local interests. Many of their decisions depended on the position of superior bodies. The new autonomous bodies are expected to have extensive powers in making decisions about local affairs.

Civic Forum 21 Aug Anniversary Statement

LD1908202490 Prague CTK in English 1821 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 19 (CTK)—The Civic Forum stressed, in a statement adopted at its republic's congress here yesterday, that August 21, 1968 was not only a day of shame and national humiliation but also a signal for non-violent opposition against the occupants.

It was not by chance that the first demand of the November 1989 revolution was that people who burdened their moral and legal account with treason and servile collaboration with the aggressor leave the public life. As August 21 was also the day of betrayal.

The Czechoslovak November revolution was therefore not only a revolution for the restoration of democracy but inseparably from this also a struggle for reconstruction of national and state sovereignty and for the withdrawal of the occupation troops.

"The anniversary of August finds us at the moment when the existence of the republic is being endangered by calls for a split...if we want to preserve freedom and develop it we must jointly face schismatics. As in August, as in November", the statement emphasized.

Sacher Viewed as Behind Orfei Affair

AU1708153590 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 15 Aug 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Viliam Ciklamini, former CSFR first deputy interior minister, by Juraj Donoval on 14 August; place not given: "Riddles in Installments"]

[Text] On Monday [13 August] we published a statement made to CTK by CSFR Interior Minister Jan Langos. According to the statement, none of the CSFR Ministry of the Interior representatives solicited the information currently being discussed by the Italian mass media, and it was not officially handed over to the Italian SISMI [Italian Intelligence and Military Security Service]. If SISMI really does have information from the Interior Ministry archives at its disposal, it must have acquired it by illegal means. The whole affair is being investigated by Interior Ministry officials.

Yesterday we met with Dr. Viliam Ciklamini, former first deputy interior minister, who also supervised our intelligence service when he held this post. What is his opinion of the "Orfei affair?"

[Ciklamini] "I found out about it from the daily press, but there are certain circumstances which have made me think. For example, on 7 May 1990 CTK carried a report that some very important information had been leaked from the intelligence service. As a consequence of this, 35 Interior Ministry managerial employees were sent to the sidelines. Their passes and weapons were taken away from them. Dr. Richard Sacher also acted this way in my case.... He also used this trick on the commanders of the intelligence service who were new and subservient to the postrevolutionary changes in our society. So that Minister Richard Sacher could remove the chief, he staged an information leak. However, this was not true! Despite this, Mr. Richard Sacher implemented changes in the intelligence service and appointed a man subservient to him as chief.... He was not at all put off by the fact that this man had no experience with the intelligence service. However, he gained access to all the documents. It is interesting that from the reports in the Italian press it seems the information leak took place this May.... It is obvious that Mr. Richard Sacher's people provided it to the Italians."

Dr. Viliam Ciklamini also claimed that Mr. Richard Sacher had very close contacts with the Italian security service. Apparently, during his visit to Rome, where he went to discuss security issues connected with the Holy Father's visit to Czechoslovakia, he certainly also held talks with someone about completely different matters....

There is no argument that Drs. Ciklamini and Sacher like each other as much as Tom and Jerry. No one will perhaps dispute the fact that most of us have the same reaction to the Interior Ministry as the Devil has to holy water. Therefore, to us many of the affairs in this institution are an unsolvable riddle.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, material on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

NVA Said Training Iraqi, Libyan Soldiers

AU1708122890 Paris AFP in English 1146 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Bonn, Aug 17 (AFP) — The East German Army [National People's Army—NVA] is training Iraqi, Libyan and Palestinian soldiers under long term deals with East Germany's former communist regime, a West German Defence Ministry spokesman said Friday [17 August].

Bonn wanted the contracts to be cancelled "as soon as possible," the spokesman said, explaining that the East German Defence Ministry had informed West Germany of the deals.

German unification later this year would allow them to be terminated in any case, the spokesman said.

No further details were given, and in East Berlin Friday, no information was available from the East German Defence Ministry.

On Wednesday East German Disarmament and Defence Minister Rainer Eppelmann said East German assembled engineering equipment had been supplied to Iraq until as recently as June, under a contract agreed in September 25, 1989. Four East German Army officers suspected of involvement in the deliveries were suspended.

'Jungle Warfare' Training Denied

LD1908120290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1140 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The National People's Army (NVA) is currently training foreign military personnel from eleven states. Among them are 31 PLO members, 29 Libyans and 130 Yemenis. Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann emphasized today at a news conference in Berlin that there are no terrorist or jungle warfare elements in any of the training programs.

The minister was referring to an item in the WELT AM SONNTAG which reported that Iraqi officers were being trained "in the jungle warfare school in Prora on Ruegen." The minister reserves the right to take legal steps against the newspaper.

Halt to PLO Training Announced

LD1908143290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1312 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The training of all 31 Palestinian officer cadets at the National People's Army [NVA] officer's academies of Prora and Stralsund is to be suspended until the GDR cabinet reaches a final decision. [passage omitted]

At the same time Eppelmann referred to the valid agreements, on the basis of which the NVA is currently training 489 military personnel from 11 states. Among them are 31 PLO members, 29 Libyans and 130 Yemenis. His ministry recently consulted its partners to find joint solutions for the future. Preliminary reactions have been received, for example, from Yemen. They have demanded that the training of the Yemeni officers be completed. The CFSR expressed great interest in allowing their officers to have further training in the GDR or the FRG.

The minister called the news conference because over the weekend "a range of information about the NVA has been published in the media that in no way accords with the facts and which to a great extent discredits the NVA and myself." He referred, for instance, to an item in WELT AM SONNTAG, which claims that in the next few days the NVA is to begin a maneuver, "Nordwind" the thrust of which is aimed at the FRG. The newspaper also reported that Iraqi officers were being trained in an NVA jungle warfare school on Ruegen, "together with PLO members and other forces from the international terrorist scene from Libya, Mozambique, and Angola." Eppelmann described these reports as "irresponsible to the highest degree," and announced that he reserves the right to take legal steps.

The minister exaplained that the Nordwind maneuver is a national training measure, staff training with simulated troops. Here only about 300 soldiers and 15 tanks will be involved. The training exercise's idea was put in such a way that the troops will conduct defense exercises in a north to south direction.

Rainer Eppelmann further stated that the delivery of 34 bridge-building tanks for Iraq was already agreed in September last year. Last Wednesday he asked the allies to stop the Iraqi ship with the tanks on board so that it could not reach its destination. The ship set sail from a Polish port.

On the subject of training Iraqis in the NVA, Eppelmann said that in 1979 six sports officers had been instructed in the organization of service sports on a six-week course. "Since then Iraqi military personnel have not been trained at any NVA instruction institution." The GDR and the NVA have not helped Iraq in preparing chemical warfare. "The GDR has also—and I emphasize this particularly—not supplied any chemical weapons." During the 1980's—"long before the change"—Iraq received technical help from the NVA in building a

training ground to train the protection of troops against weapons of mass destruction. This help consisted of technical equipment for the training ground such as electronic equipment, cables, and installations to imitate radiation installations. Eppelmann emphasized that this problem has already been presented in detail and publicly to the People's Chamber.

In addition the politician announced that he succeeded in canceling the delivery of the last 12 heliocpters from the Soviet Union for the NVA. No compensation has to be paid for this.

The minister invited the international press to view the "Otto Winzer" officers' academy in Prora on Ruegen next Tursday.

Soviet Troops To Begin Pullout From Neuruppin

LD1708085690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0659 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Neuruppin (ADN)—The withdrawal of Soviet troops from the garrison town of Neuruppin in Potsdam Bezirk [Potsdam Area] will begin this month, Ernst Bahr (SPD) [Social Democratic Party], chief administrative officer of Neuruppin Kreis [Neuruppin District], told ADN today. The date he gave was 25 August. Tank troops will be the first. Bahr said he is certain that all Soviet troops will have left the town by the spring of 1991. The withdrawal of the units, which belong to the Western Group of Soviet Forces, is taking place within the framework of the disarmament measures decided on by the Soviet Union.

Member of Soviet Military Found 'Shot Dead'

LD1708174490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1712 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Schwerin (ADN)—A member of the Soviet military was found shot dead last night south of main road 189 between Perleberg and Weisen, the People's Police announced today.

In connection with the investigation into this homicide, the criminal investigation police were asking for information about people and vehicles and others seen on the F189 between Perleberg and Wittenberge last night between 0100 and 0400.

Relevant information can be given to the Perleberg police on telephone no. 55 240, as well as to any other police station.

De Maiziere Praises Hungarian Revolutionary Role

LD1708121190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1117 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere stressed to ADN shortly before his trip to Hungary that it is important to him and also a personal need "on this day to be with the people who made the revolution possible and who, at a time when the overall European situation did not lead one to expect it, placed human rights over bloc allegiance."

De Maiziere will visit the town of Sopron on the frontier with Austria on Saturday at the invitation of Hungarian head of government Jozsef Antall in order to mark the first anniversary of the opening of the Hungarian frontier.

It is logical that the first freely elected GDR prime minister should thank the country which made this development—apart from many other factors, such as the influence of President Gorbachev—possible in the first place. The Germans should not forget the position taken by the Hungarians a year ago. [passage omitted]

94,000 Draftees Choose Civilian Service

AU1708134590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Aug 90 p 3

[ADN report: "94,000 Draftees Are Doing Alternative Civilian Service"]

[Text] East Berlin—At the moment 94,000 GDR draftees are doing alternative civilian service. According to the Youth Ministry, this constitutes an increase by 17,000 applications over June. In September 1990, 27,000 places in institutions of the health and social sector, in care for old people, and in communal and religious institutions will be available. The period of military service already done will be credited to all draftees who made their application for alternative civilian service before 12 July 1990.

Hungarians in Kuwait Expected in Jordan 20 Aug

LD1908102190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Jozsef Orosz report from Amman]

[Excerpt] The Hungarians in Kuwait left for Baghdad at dawn today. According to the Hungarian diplomat Balazs Bokor, who has been ordered to Amman for their reception, the journey to the Iraqi capital might take as long as eight to 12 hours. According to his estimate, the Hungarians are expected to arrive from Baghdad at the Jordanian border tomorrow morning. [passage omitted]

En Route to Amman

LD2008160890 Budapest MTI in English 1454 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 20 (MTI)—The 148-strong Hungarian group which set out by five buses at Sunday dawn is on the way from Baghdad to The Iraqi-Jordanian border, the Foreign Ministry told MTI in Budapest.

The about 900-kilometre-long road is leading through the desert to Amman, from where the group is to return to Budapest by two special Malev planes.

The 149-strong group of the Kuwaiti Hungarian colony was joined by a further 14 Hungarian citizens in Baghdad.

[Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1600 GMT on 20 August carries a report that a party of 173 Hungarians arrived safely in Jordan, and that five people remain in the Hungarian embassy in Kuwait]

Antall, De Maiziere To Meet in Sopron

LD1808073990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Our most important domestic news is that Prime Minister Jozsef Antall is to meet the East German head of government today in Sopron. Lothar de Maiziere is visiting our country to express, within the framework of the "Europe Day" program, his respects to Hungary for dismantling the iron curtain a year ago, and with it beginning the changes in eastern Central Europe.

Antall Assured of GDR Help

LD1908090490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Announcer] Peter Szoerenyi reports on a rally in Fertoerakos:

[Szoerenyi] In the border village, the Hungarian prime minister said that the government is aware that the united Germany will be our country's leading economic partner in the near future. For this, however, we need help, because, and I quote him, the loss of East Germany brought the Hungarian economy into a catastrophic situation. De Maiziere, by the way, has assured Jozsef Antall of help. We particularly need help because the communists left a bankrupt estate to us, continued our prime minister. At the same time, he asked the Hungarian people to support his government of Christian democratic mentality in carrying out the change of system. In return for this, he promised his audience of nearly 1,000 people an economic upswing within two years. [passage omitted]

Goncz To Propose Carpathian-Tisza Cooperation

LD1808191790 Budapest MTI in English 1643 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 18 (MTI)—To mark St. Stephen's Day of August 20, Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary, gave an interview to the Saturday issue of MAGYAR HIRLAP.

Goncz says that during his forthcoming visit to the Ukraine he will propose a Carpathian-Tisza regional cooperation covering eastern Czechoslovakia, Subcarpathia, Serbia and possibly Transylvania. The scheme would be utterly logical in the geographic sense and could reduce the "distance" between the participating countries, he says.

Arpad Goncz points out in the interview, "to me, settling relations with the neighbouring countries is a foreign political priority. I consider every regional cooperation scheme extremely important for the future. We are interdependent, and have to support one another as far as possible, taking the time until the single Europe has been realized.

"I attach particular importance to the settlement of relations with Czechoslovakia, including Slovakia, and to reconciliation with the Romanians, an aim to be attained with mutual effort."

Urges Protection for Poor, Defenseless

LD2008083790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2200 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Excerpts] At the St. Istvan celebrations in Szekesfehervar, Arpad Goncz declared that it is almost impossible to remedy grievances of old, because every request gives rise to a mass of new grievances. Under the communist command system of rule, the majority of the population was affected by serious legal, material, moral, and physical injuries. [passage omitted]

He also spoke about where the limit has to be regarding the sphere of those responsible. A person could have been a communist through conviction, through opportunism; moreover, merely by joining the party, he could have caused damage to the whole of society. It is far from certain, however, that he committed punishable acts of inhumanity, he said. At the same time, it is not certain either that, as a consequence of the possibilities given by party membership, a good deed did not do something

more for the interests of the community than if somebody remained silent. We should not paint another enemy picture for ourselves, for with this we could disrupt society, which, in any case, is creaking in its every joint. We should not take over the methods of the prestige systems of rule, which we have just left behind us, Arpad Goncz stressed.

Speaking about patriotism, the head of state declared that this remains only an abstract idea if the homeland is unyielding; if it excludes any of its citizens from the sphere of their public rights because of privilege; if it restricts the sphere of those belonging to the homeland, and if it does not grant the minority the same rights as the ruling majority have.

In this speech at Szekesfehervar, the president of the republic also reminded his audience that the market economy—especially in the beginning—unavoidably puts the poor and defenseless in an economically disadvantaged position. Today, Hungary is seriously facing the threat of becoming not a country of 3 million beggars but of 3 million poor people. A human-oriented, effective social policy is needed. This is the prime interest of the Hungarian people. The defenseless need more help; they gain nothing with formal rights, emphasized Arpad Goncz.

Jeszenzky Interviewed on Foreign Ties

LD1908124190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0630 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by correspondent Jozsef P. Szabo; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Szabo] Why would the Slovak prime minister object now to [Prime Minister] Jozsef Antall's statement? After all, it was made some months ago.

[Jeszenszky] I think all Hungarians, wherever they live in the world, are following the events in Hungary with great excitement and interest—especially Hungarians living in the United States, and there are some one and a half million of them. If the prime minister had said that he regards himself as their prime minister in spirit, I am certain that the United States or Canada would not have been suspicious about this. Dual binding is now becoming more and more common in today's world.

Hungarians abroad do not take offense if the Hungarian Government, even expressed in such words, defends their interests, or, in general, expresses concern for them. Rather, we know then, in past decades, it was a recurring complaint of the Hungarians living abroad—more so of those living in the neighboring countries—that the Hungarian Government did not care about them.

I do not really understand the objections from the governments of the neighboring countries. Part of the Hungarian Government's program is that the prime minister is shouldering the responsibility for managing the affairs of the country and that he also feels responsible for those who are living abroad. We would have no objections if the situation were reversed; if, for example, Slovak Prime Minister Meciar said that he is following, with great interest, the fate of the Slovaks living in Hungary—a very small number I have to add. We would not take offense—indeed we would expect this, indeed ask for it—if they should assist their cultural or other needs. We have no objections, therefore, if Meciar also regards himself to be spiritually the prime minister of Slovaks living in Hungary. We would consider this natural.

Now, to come back to the question of timing. The trouble here is that in a proportion of the neighboring countries—I stress that I could not even say in certain nations, only certain tendencies within certain nations—suppressed passions, emotions, and fears are emerging in the liberated atmosphere. Here, in my view, the fact that the genie—that is, the spirit of nationalism—is out of the bottle is now going to spread. Furthermore, I believe it will dissipate itself, because it was the suppression that heightened tensions. I very much hope that a more European approach will take the upper hand in Slovakia, one that does not sound the alarm over the expression of a kind of natural caring.

[Szabo] According to one opinion, Slovakia's efforts within Czechoslovakia to become independent are strengthening, and perhaps this striving is just now coming to the surface in foreign politics.

[Jeszenszky] Well, yes. Let me allude to an historical example. When Hungary and Austria were in joint statehood, at the time of the dual monarchy, there was, on both sides at times, an increase of antipathy. They both felt that coexistence—the dualist system—was more to the advantage of the other side. One of the areas where Hungary also demanded greater representation was foreign politics—perhaps the creation of independent representations.

I could say that this is a more stable, or a less dangerous, ground—to demand this, or to prepare plans of this kind. It would be a much more serious affair to say: Let us draw a frontier between the Czech lands and Slovakia and let us introduce border controls.

[Szabo] Extending the topic a little bit, if the Hungarian foreign minister looks further away than the borders—be it as far as Bonn, or Paris, or Washington—then I think he can be satisfied with the results of Hungarian foreign policy. The closer we come to the borders, the more problems there are.

[Jeszenszky] The situation that has evolved means that we can get into the European house, as they say. But it is easily possible that the nationality tensions, which are becoming heightened in our region, will represent a hindrance which, even if it does not impede us in getting through the door, will detract from our entry.

[Szabo] What can be done about this?

[Jeszenszky] I think that Hungary is, in any event, on the right path for Europe. We satisfy all the demands, in every respect, connected with our entry. We have to continue along this path. Hungary's policy is entirely clear. It is a peaceful foreign policy; it does not threaten anybody in any respect. We do not need, therefore, to be overly concerned that the conflicts in the region could constitute an obstacle to our entry into Europe. Instead, I think that those who have to be concerned are those who are perhaps sluggish or backward along this path—perhaps because of their inciting this tension, on account of the inadequate assertion of internal democracy.

[Szabo] Do we have some kind of crisis-management plan, and, in any case, is there a crisis?

[Jeszenszky] There is no crisis at all. It has to be said that relations are very good with the large majority of our neighbors, taking neighborhood in a somewhat wider sense. We have neither open nor latent conflicts with the Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Croatians, Slovenes, and I could even say the Serbs.

Within the Romanians and Slovaks, on the other hand, there are many different kinds of forces. In these countries, too, there are groups, parties, and movements which are much better prepared for cooperation. They are much less anxious and afraid of Hungary's nonexistent endeavors. I believe, therefore, that the important thing is that the more democratic forces, forces of cooperation, of Europeanness there are, and the more strongly these principles are asserted, then the more the impatient and retrograde forces will become isolated. Furthermore, because there is no popularity for isolation in Europe —for the building of customs frontiers and the erection of walls—sooner or later—sooner, I very much hope—these will likewise be, well, squeezed into the minority and lose their mass basis.

I have been informed, for example, by my friends living in Transylvania, that colleagues of theirs in Cluj, who, in the first weeks following the Vatra Romaneasca (?declaration), joined this declaration filled with a kind of Romanian national feeling. They have since become disillusioned, because they realized that this was, after all, not a clean tendency, representing a national feeling, but a dangerous one, alien to Europe and remote from democratic, enlightened people.

[Szabo] Perhaps, in this connection, it is also worth mentioning that there already exists the Alps-Adria cooperation—perhaps no longer even in an embryonic form—and perhaps another one as well, the Carpathians-Tisza cooperation?

[Jeszenszky] A few days ago, the Hungarian press headlines reported that I was supposed to have come forward with some new concept of this kind in a statement I gave to the Soviet paper ISVESTIYA. Well, to begin with, the authorship is not mine; I couldn't even say to whom this can be linked in the Foreign Ministry. In our country, and in other countries, too, this arose weeks earlier, at the conceptual level.

I devoted a line and a half to two lines of a nine-page IZVESTIYA interview to this, alluding to the fact that, naturally, the Alps- Adria is a regional cooperation, keeping within a unifying Europe. I usually compare it to something like the cooperation of the Benelux states. In other words, this is not the only possible form of cooperation. Instead of our extending this in every direction without limit—that is to say, north, east and south—I think, rather, that other regional cooperations could also come into existence, one of whose precise tasks is the restoration of the economic threats of the one-time Central Europe, artificially divided by the borders.

The tasks of these regional cooperations, therefore, is not exclusive; they are, among other things, that the regions having become peripheral areas should again be able to link up. One objective could be that the isolated villages could again make contact with those on the other side of the border, perhaps with the other half of the village.

So, this Carpathians-Tisza cooperation is indeed, at present, in an extremely early stage. We can imagine this as well—an economic cooperation strung along the Tisza valley, because the river valleys—the rivers—do have that economically cohesive role. This is fairly widely known in the case of the Danube, but it can be said about the Tisza as well. This cooperation could be a much more modest affair than the Pentagonal cooperation, but it is worth dealing with.

Jeszenszky Meets Romanian Delegation at Border

LD1808173690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] [Announcer] Artand, on the Hungarian-Romanian border, is the scene of a report by Istvan Palffy:

[Palffy] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky met with Romanian Ambassador Simion Pop at the Artand border crossing. The Romanian delegation included Geza Szocs, general secretary of the RMDSz [Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania], and several other leading Romanian and Hungarian personalities.

At the greeting ceremony, Geza Jeszenszky yielded precedence to Simion Pop, who evaluated the border meeting by saying that this border does not divide, but brings close to each other, the two peoples and promotes cooperation for the new Europe. He added that the symbolic opening of the border removes suspicion from the two countries' interstate relations.

Geza Jeszenszky began his reply by saying that this day is a shared Romanian-Hungarian holiday. The foreign minister recalled that one year ago this border was still among the most tense, but by this day has become a historical one in Europe and in the life of the two countries.

Jeszenszky on Minority Politics, Populations

LD1708211190 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1840 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. Minister, in Romania, accusations are continuing against Hungary: The Romanian spokesman on foreign affairs called Hungarian politics Stalinist and arrogant. At the same time, the Slovak prime minister said that coexistence within the European home is disturbed by false words in Hungary. What do you say to these accusations, which have been around for a long time and are resurfacing again and again?

[Jeszenszky] I think it is not simply a question of hauntings from the past. After all, the communist system locked people in, and economic difficulties made people more brutal. Solidarity ceased; the moral, restraining force of religion ceased; human selfishness, greed, and impatience remained, or reappeared—and these are being voiced now.

Unfortunately, in those countries where the Stalinist or post-Stalinist oppression was strongest, where liberalization, even in in a lop-sided way—as in Hungary—did not take place—and first of all in the case of the Ceausescu dictatorship—these voices are being heard again. It is well known that the Securitate did not cease to operate, but only dressed in new uniforms, so this is not really surprising. What would have been surprising was if these had suddenly stopped—if the prejudices installed in people by the Stalinist or post-Stalinist dictatorships, even more than during the decades prior to World War II, disappeared at once.

I am also convinced that it is very difficult to agree with individual politicians or movements in the neighboring countries, because they would feel, for example, that establishing a Hungarian university would be an enormous concession, when in fact it is not. There used to be one; this would only be a restoration.

[Correspondent] You are thinking of Romania?

[Jeszenszky] Yes, Romania, or the restoring of the Hungarian schools, because the Hungarian school system and Hungarian cultural institutions in Slovakia and Romania lost a great deal, and had been squeezed out.

What the Hungarian Government and Hungarian society is calling for, therefore, is not some new, additional, unreasonable rights, but a status quo ante—a return to an earlier state of affairs.

[Correspondent] I think Hungary also has the moral right to demand and stand by the minority rights guaranteed at the Paris Treaty in Trianon.

[Jeszenszky] Indeed, the peace treaties following World War I were not so ill-informed as not to notice that there was a population of 10 million—and if we consider the whole of Central Europe, some 30 million—national minorities, and it was for a guarantee of their rights that the international system for the defense of minority rights had been created. What we can do, we Hungarians? This is what we have to do: We must do all we can toward a language of tolerance, but, at the same time, we must do so from our point of view—which is, by the way, in complete accord with the European position, the European norms, the Helsinki document, and all declarations since; for example, the Copenhagen human rights conference.

[Correspondent] We had quite a lot of conferences and treaties, and look, neither in Slovakia nor in Romania are the rights of Hungarians undamaged.

[Jeszenszky] Look, very little happened—possibly nothing happened—but the political arena is now free everywhere in the neighboring countries. Even if during the elections there were some objections—and justified objections—still, in every neighboring country where they held elections, the Hungarian minority could create, or is creating, political parties. These parties voice their aims—and here Hungary cannot be accused of inspiring or standing up as an uncalled advocate for something; here the most qualified—the Hungarian citizens of neighboring countries, through their elected representatives— voice to their demands and stand up for their rights. This is what must be taken seriously, and this every European forum must accept—whether they want to or not.

[Correspondent] You talked about some welcome, promising events, and earlier mentioned some chance of historic reconciliations. At the same time, my feeling is as if, in our region in East Europe, the conditions we experience are a little like those before World War I, when an empire was disintegrating—then the Austro-Hungarian monarchy—and the states that followed started to bicker; then the powder keg was set up in the Balkans. Mr. Jeszenszky, you are also an historian. Do you not see some similarities between the two?

[Jeszenszky] History always has similar or repeating situations. At the same time, history never repeats itself completely. I do not believe in historical determinism, so even on this basis I do not believe that these countries are on some kind of collision course. The concerns you mentioned were not created today. Almost the day after the changes in Europe skepticism arrived in the press of West Europe—or at least in part of it—with the fear that the end of the quiet, forced upon us by the end of the comfortable bipolar world, could cause difficult situations.

Jeszenszky on Magyar Minorities Abroad

LD1908221890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky dealt with the problem of the three million Magyars living beyond our borders at the MDF's [Hungarian Democratic Forum]

festive meeting at Szolnok. He emphasized that history had developed in such a way that a third of the Magyar nation is living outside our borders. For people living on Magyar land for 1,000 years, Hungary, at one stroke, became a foreign country. We do not wish to resolve this question through war, but we must call our neighbors' attention to one thing. If they are in possession of home territory, it is their responsibility to do something to conciliate the Magyar minority against whom so many offenses have been committed, and who have been afflicted by so many wrongs in the past decades. With the neighbors, and with the other European nations, too, we wish to live not only in peace and friendship, but also in unity. With border meetings for European Day, we wished to signal that we are searching for a peaceful solution—and this could be through making the borders open and traversable—said Geza Jeszenszky at the MDF's meeting in Szolnok.

Antall Queried on Land Reform, Ownership Rights

LD1808180190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by correspondent Istvan (Stefka) following a mass rally of the Peasant Association in Koelcse on 18 August—recorded]

[Text] [(Stefka)] You delivered virtually a political program speech here in Koelcse.

[Antall] What I plainly wanted to show, and to make people feel, was what difficult and grave months we are living through.

[(Stefka)] You spoke about a mass of bankruptcies; you said....

[Antall, interrupting] One can certainly speak about a mass of bankruptcies. I wanted to speak without illusions, but nevertheless with faith.

[(Stefka)] If I understood correctly, you said concerning land reform that only those people who claim land and then cultivate it will get back the land.

[Antall] I think that our land program also lays down that priority has to be given to satisfying those claimants who really do perform agricultural activity in a first class way. Next in line will be the owners, and the owners will also have to see to it that they cultivate the land. But the draft land law, in which we have worked out a joint program, also requires prior constitutional, legal, and political examination.

[(Stefka)] So what you hold important is implementing land reform as soon as possible, and the settling of ownership relations.

[Antall] I consider the settling of ownership relations to be the most important, because as long as we do not settle ownership relations in Hungary, and as long as it does not become certain what the Hungarian property system is, there will be no foreign investment. As long as either the foreign or domestic investor feels uncertainty about the fate of the money he has invested, he will not invest. As a consequence of this, the creation of the ownership reform is of fundamental importance.

FKgP Concerned by 'Attacks' on Land Law

LD1908225490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] According to Jozsef Torgyan, chief executive of the Smallholders Party [FKgP], the fate of Hungary stands or falls with the FKgP; and if a quarrel is picked with them, a quarrel could be picked with the whole government, too. In the opinion of the party politician, this is exactly what the Communists—along with their toadies, the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], and FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats]—are preparing for with the attacks relating to the land law. At the party meeting in Sopron, Torgyan said that, up to now, there has only been a change of government system, and the opportunity is now here for the people to take power. In any case, we must get rid of the old communist leaders, he added.

Party Chairman Ferenc Jozsef Nagy, minister of agriculture, highlighted, in connection with privatization, that they do not wish to break apart the cooperatives, but they will leave it up to the membership what property form they chose.

Kiraly: No Plans for Economic 'Shock Therapy'

LD1608194890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 16 Aug 90

[Report on interview with Peter Kiraly, administrative state secretary at the Finance Ministry, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] Today's issue of MAGYAR HIRLAP [16 August] gives details of the government's draft of a three-year economic program which is under preparation, under the title "Is the government planning shock therapy after all?" We learn from the article that the Antall government wishes to make the free development of prices possible through a single, great price liberation. A three-to-five percent real estate tax would be introduced, and rents would increase by four to five times the current rate. [passage omitted]. According to the information in MAGYAR HIRLAP, there is also a proposal to initiate a currency change in order to make the forint convertible. After reading the article, we asked Peter Kiraly, administrative state secretary at the Finance Ministry, whether the government is indeed planning such shock measures.

[Begin recording] [Kiraly] There is no question of shock therapy. In this sense, the headline and contents of the article do not correspond to the ideas and directives the government wishes to work out for the economic policy of the coming three years.

[Reporter] Where did the paper get these ideas, I wonder?

[Kiraly] Various experts' work documents have been drawn up, and one of these documents also contained drastic ideas—a radical series of steps. As a part of these steps, the increasing of rents by the amount mentioned in the article also rose; this was an expert's idea which appeared in a significantly earlier phase of the work, and has now been overtaken. Such large increases are not among our ideas. What is certain, however, is that we are planning changes throughout the entire system of housing management and housing finance. Experts are presently working on this, to see what alternatives can be worked out.

[Reporter] Correct me if I am wrong, but even you are unsure of what data the final government program will provide. Nevertheless, do you believe that the press—in this case, MAGYAR HIRLAP—has written about concrete facts too early?

[Kiraly] It attributed things to the government which the government has not even discussed; such ideas have not come before the government. Knowing the ideas that have been formulated by this stage in the experts' work, there are not even comparable versions to such ideas.

[Reporter] Could you tell us something about these ideas which have been formulated, say, in this area?

[Kiraly] I would like to highlight two things from the article that the government is not considering or planning. One is the matter of a currency change, and convertibility linked to this. The government—that is, the Finance Ministry—is indeed looking into what the conditions are for creating convertibility. I emphasize: There is no question of a currency change.

The other matter is that of a real estate tax, or an assets tax. We are, in truth, dealing with the question of taxing assets, but we are thinking of a magnitude—I emphasize the degree—lower than that mentioned in the article.

[Reporter] According to this, the government program, itself, is not public. Because today, too, for example, the government—if I am correct—is debating the economic policy concept. Obviously there are things to debate, but we have no information about this.

[Kiraly] I think that it is up to the government to make the government program public, and it will be the parliament that will be first informed about this. It is natural that a governmemt program is comprised of component parts. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Social Democratic Alliance Formed

LD1708131890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] [Announcer] In Budapest, the Social Democratic Alliance has been formed. Erno Kardos reports from the news conference they are holding at this moment.

[Kardos] It may be that this will mark the fall of Anna Petrasovits [chairman of Hungarian Social Democratic Party, MSZDP], for the Social Democratic Alliance has been formed; its signatories are the Historical Social Democratic Party, the Independent Social Democratic Party, and the opposition wing of the Petrasovits-led Social Democratic Party. The task of the Alliance, they stated, is to put the social democratic movement back on its feet for the local authority elections, and a condition of this is that Anna Petrasovits be excluded from the leadership.

Whether all this is being conducted legally, I do not know. In reply to my question, the leader of the MZSDP opposition, (Jozsef Schiller), acknowledged that the party leadership—that is, the leadership of the Petrasovits party—did not give its blessing to joining the Social Democratic Alliance. All this is possible, it was said, because the membership of this party does not recognize its own leadership.

Another question concerned whether they had uncovered the cause of the MSZDP's 30 million forint deficit. The reply was that the leadership will not give an account to the membership of financial matters or the budget. So, a complete mist shrouds this matter.

It seems the formation of the Social Democratic Alliance will provide an opportunity to create a united social democratic party. The signatories of the document say that the division of the movement must be ended.

Senior Officials To Be Relieved of MTI Posts

LD1608205790 Budapest MTI in English 1911 GMT 16 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 16 (MTI)—In its Thursday session, the Hungarian Government is almost certain to relieve senior officials of the Hungarian news agency MTI of their posts, the evening newsreel of the Hungarian television reported.

Laszlo Kodela, chief government advisor, said candidates would be invited to run for the posts of general manager, deputy general manager and editor in chief. It is likely that selections will be made in September, he added.

Under a recent government decree, the general manager of MTI is appointed by the president of the republic, and his deputy and the editor in chief by the prime minister.

Goncz Tours Borsod Factories, Visits Tokes

LD1708101790 Budapest MTI in English 0804 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 16 (MTI)—Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary, paid a visit to Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County on Thursday.

Goncz called on Laszlo Tokes, bishop of Oradea, who has been recovering in Miskolc hospital since his car accident.

Previously, the president met the workers of some factories. Having visited the giant Tisza chemical complex of Leninvaros, with its staff of 6,200 Goncz emphasized that Hungary's previous economic management sought to strengthen the weakest links in the chain. What we need in the future is just the opposite: to increase the might of the strong, he said. A company representing the world standard, such as the Tisza chemical complex, simply cannot suspend technological development. A step like that would cause great damage to the economy as a whole, he said.

Goncz also met the workers of Dimag Co. and the Diosgyor machine factory, a former citadel of the Hungarian engineering industry. The latter, however, piled up debts worth 895 million forints and is to be wound up.

448 Evacuees Reach Jordan From Iraq

LD1808110590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Statement by Embassy Charge d'Affaires Marian Dabrowski in Amman, Jordan; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Marian Dabrowski, [Polish] charge d'affaires at the embassy, on the line. I would like to report that a group of 448 people is already in Jordan and a column of buses is approaching Amman. All steps have been taken to ensure the completion of their journey. There was a Jordanian Red Cross ambulance at the Jordanian-Iraqi border with a team of doctors, nurses, and an appropriate supply of medicines. On arrival in Amman the group will go to a hotel and receive the embassy's full attention. We are making all the preparations. We are waiting for confirmation from Warsaw that charter planes will leave for Warsaw with our countrymen aboard late this evening or early tomorrow morning Jordanian time.

Convoy To Fetch Poles in Kuwait

LD1908143790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] We have been informed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that another convoy left Baghdad at 1230 today [19 Aug]. It is made up of 11 vehicles. If no unforeseen difficulties arise, the convoy ought to reach Kuwait tomorrow morning. There it will pick up all those Polish citizens who wish to return home and will set off in the evening toward the Jordanian capital, Amman. The next group of Polish workers from Iraq is expected in Warsaw the day after tomorrow.

More Than 440 Airlifted to Warsaw

LD1908173990 Warsaw PAP in English 1703 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Aug. 19—Three Polish Airlines "Lot" charter planes from Amman, with Poles evacuated from Kuwait on board, landed at the Okecie Airport here this morning [19 Aug]. They airlifted more than 440 of the Poles who stayed in Kuwait at the time Iraqi troops entered on August 2. [passage omitted]

A committee of volunteers set up to prepare evacuation started its activity just after the invasion. Much help was provided by the Polish Embassy.

The transit from Kuwait to Jordan lasted 4 days. Upon arrival here today Poles said they had no problems while crossing the Iraqi-Jordanian border. A doctor from the Jordanian Crescent was waiting for them at the border and provided any necessary help.

Not all Poles have left Kuwait. There is a group which had not managed to join the first transport and there is another group which believes the situation will be normal very soon and the industry will start working. They are encouraged by the attitude of Iraqis toward Poles which is correct, even friendly. [passage omitted]

Another convoy left Baghdad for Kuwait today, the Polish Foreign Ministry reported. The convoy will take 280 Poles from Kuwait via Baghdad to Amman. They are expected in Poland on August 21 and 22.

The number of Poles working in Iraq and Kuwait totalled about 3,000. They were usually employed under collective contracts by foreign firms. Some of them had individual contracts. Poles also worked in Kuwaiti health service, hospitals and medical schools.

Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki ordered that planes of the government air regiment should be used for evacuation of Poles from Iraq and Kuwait.

Relations Between Poles, Russians Surveyed

AU1708152890 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11-12 Aug 90 pp 1, 3

[Olga Iwaniak report: "Mutual Opinions"]

[Text] The Public Opinion Research Center ran a survey at the end of May 1990 on the subject of Polish-Russian relations. Some 890 Poles, a representative sample of the nation, were polled. At the same time, the Moscow-based Center of Sociological and Political Research held a similar survey among 594 Muscovites.

Asked for their personal attitude vis-a-vis the Russians, 62 percent of the Polish respondents professed indifference, 44 percent claimed that the Poles do not like the Russians, and 38 percent said that the negative feelings are mutual.

In reply to the question, "Do you like the Poles/Russians?" 59 percent of the Russian respondents said, "Yes, rather," but only 21 percent of the Polish respondents replied in this way. In reply to the question, "What are the chief characteristics of the Russians?" the most frequent replies from Polish respondents were: hospitality, kindness, openness, and goodness.

The Muscovites are more decided in their liking of the Poles, and are convinced that their nation likes Poland. Forty percent of the Muscovite respondents said that the Poles do not reciprocate these feelings to an equal degree. Twenty-three percent of the Polish respondents and the same percentage of the Russian respondents claimed that there is mutual friendship.

The Poles are rather reluctant to admit that Poland inflicted harm on Russia in the past. Fifty-eight percent of the Polish respondents said that Poland has never ever harmed Russia, and only 25 percent of Poles said that Poland has seldom harmed Russia. The Russians were also reluctant to admit that Russia has ever harmed Poland; 40 percent said that it has.

There were clear differences between the two nationalities concerning opinions on the subject of the entry of

Soviet forces into Poland on 17 September 1939. Eighty percent of the Polish respondents and 45 percent of the Russian respondents agreed that this was an act of aggression against Poland and a violation of international law. The Russian respondents generally thought that the Red Army wanted to protect the Ukrainians and Byelorussians living in the eastern parts of the Polish Republic against the Germans, but the Poles disagreed with this view.

Asked who was responsible for the Katyn atrocity, 85 percent of the Poles said, "The USSR." Forty-five percent of the Russians agreed. However, one percent of the Poles and 22 percent of the Russians said, "I have never heard of Katyn and know nothing about it."

The respondents were also asked what feelings are aroused by the words competition, planning, communism, socialism, and capitalism. On the basis of the replies given, one can conclude that Russians are more pro-socialist than the Poles. Sixty-one percent of them viewed socialism in positive terms and 17 percent in negative terms. Opinions of capitalism and communism were similar, though communism caused more negative feelings.

As many as 87 percent of the Polish respondents firmly rejected communism and 58 percent had a negative opinion of socialism.

State relations between Poland and the USSR did not cause any emotion among most of the Poles and Russians, but the Russians were more susceptible to extremist views.

Asked to assess the influence of Soviet authorities on Polish authorities in the past, 92 percent of the Polish respondents said that this influence had been "very great," and 76 percent of the Russians said it had been "considerable." Eleven percent of the Russians and nine percent of the Poles said that this influence is still very great, and 78 percent of the Poles and 81 percent of the Russians said it was negligible.

Opinions about the mutual advantages of economic cooperation were less harmonious. Sixty-six percent of the Poles said that the Soviet Union was the chief beneficiary of this cooperation. Twenty-nine percent of the Muscovites said that neither country had benefited from this cooperation. Fifty-four percent of the Russians claimed, however, that Soviet-Polish cooperation had been beneficial "to Poland" or "both countries."

Many of the Poles supported the Warsaw Pact, though many said that it mainly serves Soviet interests, probably as a counterweight to German unification.

Asked whether the Warsaw Pact should be dissolved, 47 percent of the Poles said no.

Most of the Russians said that the Warsaw Pact serves the interests of all its members.

More Russians than Poles said that the Soviet forces in Poland should be withdrawn. Ten percent more Poles than Russians said these forces ought to stay.

The Poles and Russians were also asked which of the following politicians is the most popular: Gorbachev, Jaruzelski, Yeltsin, Ligachev, Mazowiecki, Michnik, Ryzhkov, or Walesa. Tadeusz Mazowiecki turned out to be the most popular among the Polish respondents, and Boris Yeltsin the most popular among the Russians. Fifty-one percent of the Poles and 52 percent of the Russians said that they like Gorbachev. Thirty-three percent of the Poles and 52 percent of the Russians said they like Jaruzelski. But 51 percent of the Poles knew nothing about Yeltsin, and 34 percent of the Russians knew nothing about Mazowiecki. Ligachev turned out to be the least known Soviet politician among the Poles, and Michnik the least known Polish politician among the Muscovites.

U.S. Senate Budget Committee Head Visits Poland

LD1608194790 Warsaw PAP in English 1703 GMT 16 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 16—Jim Sasser, head of the U.S. Senate Budget Committee, started today his Polish visit. Senator Sasser actively participates in the work on the second package of American assistance to Poland and other East European countries.

At a meeting with Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz, the visitor familiarized himself with Poland's economic situation and with the progress of economic reforms. The talk focused on a further U.S. assistance to Poland and ways of reducing Polish official debt to U.S.

Balcerowicz stressed that Poland sought financial support for her structual transformations, that is privatization.

Senator Sasser told PAP he was impressed with political and economic reforms in Poland. He added he hoped to get a clear picture of how the U.S. could contribute to their success. He also stated that the Polish reforms were more advanced than those in other East European countries.

SdRP Leader Protests Religious Education Plan

AU1708141790 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 11-12 Aug 90 p 1

["Open Letter" issued by Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic (SdRP), to National Education Minister Professor Henryk Samsonowicz; place and date not given: "Again On Religion"]

[Text] Professor Henryk Samsonowicz, minister of national education!

For several days now Polish society has been debating the impact of the provisions that introduce religious education into schools and kindergartens. The decision has aroused emotions and has given rise to doubts. The arguments against it are not to be ignored and the way the decision was made is causing particular discontent.

You are a member of a government that has often stated publicly that respect for the law, democratic principles, and tolerance of the spectrum of social outlooks forms the core of its program. The decision to introduce religious teaching into schools was made while totally disregarding all these principles; it was done hastily and without any meaningful consultation with those people who are most affected by the matter.

The results of social opinion polls (Public Opinion Research Main Center, June 1990) show that the majority of those questioned were in favor of allowing some form of religious education in accordance with the wishes of those parents who wanted their children to receive it. A majority of those questioned also approved of religious teaching outside school.

The continuing press debate highlights the inconsistencies. Statements in the Catholic press and by various churchmen were full of misgivings about the negative effects that such a decision might have for matters of the faith.

Despite these arguments, I do not know what the result of the social consultation would have been, had one been carried out. The decision was made unilaterally. I would like to ask in whose name was such a far-reaching change in the schools made? Why did you decide to implement this decision, despite the fact that it directly contradicts the present law, including the law on the development of the school and education system?

Ministry of National Education representatives have admitted that this decision is against the law and they have expressed the hope that the Sejm will pass legislation currently under preparation that will straighten out this matter. Was it the intention of the people behind the decision to create a fait accompli and in so doing to influence the content of future legislation?

Aside from the legal aspect, the way the decision was made, the content of the provision, and the ministry's directions give rise to concern generally and in particular:

— Two hours of religious teaching per week in schools for each class will place a great burden on the teaching staff. Will the schools who are already working on a two or three shift system be able to cope with the additional burden?

— The Polish education system has for years suffered from chronic underfunding and low pay for teachers. Will the education budget stand the financial strain of an enormous army of teachers of religion (provisions also introduce the teaching of religion in kindergartens)? It is obvious that this will solve the employment problems of graduates from Catholic colleges.

— If all religious denominations want to take advantage of the same privileges that the Catholic religion will now enjoy in schools (the possibility of displaying religious symbols, two hours of religious teaching per week, release from classes in order to participate in religious worship, and so on), will the school authorities have sufficient tact and means to conciliate the disparate interests and avoid splits among pupils, teachers, and parents that might lead to religious conflicts, discrimination, and intolerance?

— The adopted provisions that continue the mistakes of the past and are aimed at securing a monopoly over the upbringing of children and youth through a particular conception of the world can cause divisions within classes and teachers. Intolerance and pressure will necessarily force many children to make a choice, a choice they are not prepared for. It will also force parents to make unwanted decisions and actions. Is it the intention of the school or the Church to enforce conformist behavior and the adoption of artificial positions that purport to protect the child, its well-being, and its security?

— What is to happen to the pupils and teachers who do not accept this system (unbelievers, or those who consider that faith is a private matter, and so on) when the schools become monopolized by the Catholic Church? Will not the intolerance and the weight of opinion of the majority make them second-class persons who are pushed to the sidelines of the school's life, with all the attendant consequences that this implies?

The basic argument that the ministry is using to introduce this new solution is that religious teaching in schools introduces pupils to basic ethical and moral values. Are you of the opinion that in present-day Poland there are barriers that prevent universal Christian values from assuming their proper place in the curriculum of schools?

Are you of the opinion that there are barriers that prevent religious teaching by the Church and other denominations to those children whose parents desire it?

Are you sure that this decision will bring Poland nearer to European-style solutions and a modern educational system?

I fear that this solution will not serve the interests of the school or the work of evangelization.

I look forward to hearing your answers to my questions and doubts.

Yours sincerely, Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Supreme Council of the SdRP.

Socialist Leader Lipski Views Party's Prospects

PM1708121590 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 30 Jun 90 p 3

[Interview with Socialist Party leader Jan Jozef Lipski by Andrzej Mozolowski and Stanislaw Podemski; place and date not given]

[Text] [POLITYKA] Your past is well known—both the now distant young years when you first fought in the Grey Ranks [Szare Szeregi: WWII underground resistance organization of scouting youth] and the "Baszta" [Turret] Battalion, and then took part in the Warsaw Uprising, and your postwar career: your activity on the PO PROSTU team, then in the Krzywe Kolo Club, and your participation in the work of the Workers Defense Committee [KOR]. Your biography includes frequent periods of interruption in the form of arrests and detentions. But today we would like to talk about the present time and about the party which you represent. Let us tackle the most recent events right away. How do you assess the Krakow Accord and the other, the Center Accord? You did not join either of these groups. Why not?

[Lipski] First, because we were not asked. This reason is surely already sufficient. The Kaczynski brothers' center does not regard us as their potential ally, and we do not see them as one, either. Nor would we have joined the Turowicz [Krakow] Accord group, had we been asked in the first place. We do not want to have our hands tied by various alliances. We are a numerically weak party, and an alliance between a weak and a strong partner does not constitute an attractive prospect. For the moment we are concentrating on internal matters, on the development of the PPS [Polish Socialist Party], and we attach great hopes to this aspect of our existence as a party.

[POLITYKA] Are these hopes not excessively optimistic? Throughout Europe we can now observe a regression of left-wing movements and in Poland itself, as we know, socialism has very negative connotations: It is associated with the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] rule. So, what future can the left-wing orientation expect?

[Lipski] You are correct, gentlemen, but only in that the word "socialism," which has been devalued and tarnished by communism, holds emphatically negative connotations for the public. All sociological questionnaires and opinion polls confirm this. On the other hand, the same people—when asked more specific questions later—turn out to accept the whole complex of values which are characteristic of socialism.

[POLITYKA] Such as?

[Lipski] For instance, they expect to be given a guarantee of a wide range of social welfare provisions incorporated in the state's social policy and to see so-called social justice at work (a concept which, after all, is firmly rejected by the liberal faction); they also oppose commercialization of the health service and so on. I believe that we have a great many supporters—the only thing is that they do not know it themselves as yet.... This is the source of my optimistic outlook on the future of the PPS. All we need is patience. Our time has not come yet.

[POLITYKA] What is the PPS stance in respect to the planned new constitution?

[Lipski] We have not decided on that as yet. The worst of it is that not even one of our three parliamentary representatives—that is, my colleagues Kowal and Kazimierz Blaszczyk in the Sejm and myself in the Senate—have been appointed to any of the constituent commissions set up by the Sejm or the Senate.

[POLITYKA] Do you not believe that the PPS should follow the example of socialist parties in the West and engage the help of experts to draw up a party policy statement regarding a number of particular issues and in this way translate its general program into detailed proposals of particular solutions in such areas as the economy (for example, concerning the privatization issue); political concerns (for example, legislative safeguards of citizens' rights); or social issues (the extent of social welfare provisions)? We believe that the government is, in fact, looking to political parties for assistance in these areas.

[Lipski] You are indeed right, but this would require a concerted effort on the part of a full team of experts. All the same, I believe that the time for it will eventually come.

[POLITYKA] For the time being, however, you are a numerically weak party. How is it represented in particular regions?

[Lipski] In addition to Warsaw, we have important centers in Krakow, Szczecin, Poznan, Lodz, and also in several smaller cities, such as Walcz or Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski; there is even one PPS group in the rural parish of Milejow.

[POLITYKA] What does "important centers" mean?

[Lipski] Centers that have between several dozen and 200 members.

[POLITYKA] Are these mostly older or younger people?

[Lipski] Half and half, with the older members commanding a slight majority. There are many veteran PPS members [from the pre-WWII Polish Socialist Party] among them. They formed the Senior Members Council, which enjoys the same rights as regional PPS organizations.

[POLITYKA] You have additionally weakened your own party as a consequence of the split which resulted in the creation of the PPS-Democratic Revolution [PPS RD] group....

[Lipski] This was a necessary move. We did not agree with the Trotskyist leanings of that group, their contacts

with foreign Trotskyist organizations, or their methods of provocative action. On their side, recently a splinter group was set up by some 300 dissatisfied members who established the National Provisional PPS Conference. I think that our next congress, which we intend to hold in late September, will see a merger of their group with our party.

[POLITYKA] Why are you not seeking contacts, to say nothing of alliances, with other left-wing movements, for example, the Social Democrats?

[Lipski] Gentlemen, if I were to announce that we are seeking even a tentative contact of that kind, I would lose my post as PPS chairman the very same day.... In any case, it should be obvious: How can we even talk with the same people who consented to the introduction of martial law and to people being shot at in the streets?

Let me add here that Polish Social Democrats were not invited to the Cairo Conference of the Socialist International, from which I returned several weeks ago. Our group was there as a joint delegation representing the Warsaw and London organizations.

[POLITYKA] What is your view of the left-wing group within Solidarity? After all, you should share bonds of mutual affection with them.

[Lipski] Certainly, we share an old friendship—which has remained as firm as ever to the present day—with Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuron. But their feelings for the PPS—however ardent they might be—are certainly carefully concealed. All the same, I think that in the future we will all find ourselves in one party.

[POLITYKA] Since we are talking about personalities, we note that there are not very many well-known figures in your party. The sole response to the password "PPS" is: "Jan Jozef Lipski," and that is all....

[Lipski] If this were true, it would be a sorry state of affairs indeed, but fortunately it is not true. After all, we have such figures in our ranks as Andrzej Malanowski, who is equally popular, or Wladyslaw Kunicki-Goldfinger—a truly remarkable personality. There are also people who enjoy high esteem and prestige in their professional fields, such as Professor Marek Drozdowski, who is a historian rather than a politician.

[POLITYKA] Well, we have already discussed personalities, but we have still not mentioned the most important thing: the PPS program. We are embarrassed to admit that we know next to nothing about it....

[Lipski] There is nothing surprising in that. At the First PPS Congress we only drew up the first, most generalized part of our program, the so-called "Signpost." This contains our principal ideological tenets and our proposed methods of action. There was not enough time to prepare the second part, which will specify our concrete, current tasks.

[POLITYKA] What do you mean: "There was no time?" Could you not have extended the duration of the congress and drawn up the whole program?

[Lipski] Not really. This was all taking place still under clandestine conditions of underground activity. The first congress was hosted by a priest who was a friend and supporter of our movement. It was held at his presbytery in Lesna Podkowa. The debates lasted one whole day and one whole night; the danger of exposure was too high to risk keeping such a large group of people together any longer. After all, we were all subject to surveillance. We were lucky to last for 36 hours without being caught....

[POLITYKA] Because it was a priest's house. As we all know, the good Lord has always been well disposed toward the PPS....

[Lipski] The sentiment is mutual. Nevertheless, we still have no program of ongoing tasks and targets. After all, the particular acts we have issued to date—such as the one which defines the PPS stance on the Balcerowicz economic reform program, or the one which denounces anti-Semitism—cannot be regarded as programmatic documents. Consequently, the September congress will have to devote its debates to this matter.

[POLITYKA] So what are the tenets of the first, completed part of your program—the so-called "Signpost?"

[LIPSKI] The "Signpost" defines our fundamental priorities: social justice, parliamentary democracy, independence, human rights, and internal party democracy.

[POLITYKA] Well, these could probably be endorsed by all parties....

[Lipski] Not entirely. The Social Democrats have not adopted the independence program; nor is parliamentary democracy an obvious goal for all; the Liberals are certainly not interested in social justice. And, of course, internal party democracy has had a checkered career elsewhere, too....

[POLITYKA] Outside the windows of the PPS abode in Krakowskie Przedmiescie Street a banner sports the following slogan: "We demand recognition of Lithuania's independence!" Don't you regard this demand as slightly irresponsible, so to speak? To date, no government anywhere has done what you suggest.

[Lipski] No, I certainly do not regard it as irresponsible! We do not want to see the Lithuanians find themselves in a situation similar to that which was our lot in the past: abandoned by all. Is this irresponsible? Gentlemen, after all, the PPS has only three representatives in parliament: This makes it easier for us to say what we think.

[POLITYKA] Does this mean that if it commanded a parliamentary majority, it would not risk making such demands?

[Lipski] Your question concerns an entirely hypothetical situation. It does not require an answer.

[POLITYKA] Let us then begin again on an entirely different subject: What has been happening with PPS press publications? Or, rather, where have they gone? What happened to ROBOTNIK, which has disappeared from the newsstands? Can a party of any substance exist without its own daily, or weekly?

[Lipski] Unfortunately, we cannot afford such a state of affairs as yet.

[POLITYKA] Then let us talk about money. After all, you cannot make politics without money. Where can the PPS find funds for its activity?

[Lipski] We will most probably set up a PPS fund. We are pinning great hopes on help from abroad. We can and should take recourse to it....

[POLITYKA] Not everybody agrees with this.

[Lipski] Those who have their own assets can afford to disagree. We, on the other hand, have only liabilities to our name. We have already drawn up a long list of properties owned by the PPS before the war (including two large apartment building in Warsaw) and taken from us unlawfully after the war. We have applied to the court for repayment of the $60,000 requisitioned during a search of the Puzaks' apartment. The present swell of reparation cases included successful property restoration claims won by such organizations as the YMCA, or the Maritime and Colonial League. Surely the PPS's rights are no lesser than theirs? And, of course, there is our EKSPRESS WIECZORNY published by the Wiedza cooperative, which was liquidated on the strength of an administrative ukase. Of course, I have lodged a claim to have our cooperative's property restored. For the time being, however, we have no money. I console myself with the knowledge that we are not the only ones.

[POLITYKA] In that case, we hope your fortune turns for the better. Thank you for talking to us.

Jaroslaw Kaczynski Discusses Elections, Walesa

AU1908163190 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11-12 Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with Center Accord leader Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski by Janina Paradowska; place and date not given: "We Have Created a Political Power Base for Walesa"]

[Text] [Paradowska] What is your own assessment of your activities over the past few months? Have you experienced more successes than setbacks? If your main objective was to pave the way to the Belweder Palace for Walesa, then that goal seems to be further off now. If it was to split the Solidarity camp in order to promote democracy in Poland, then you have probably succeeded.

[Kaczynski] I would take issue with your fist statement. I do not think that Walesa's path to the Belweder is longer today than it was a few months ago. That is just how it may appear at first sight. If those political forces that are now opposed to Walesa were quiet in the past, it did not mean that they agreed to the Solidarity chairman being in the Belweder on the conditions that we were proposing.

[Paradowska] The conditions were real, strong authority, and not a president for representational purposes?

[Kaczynski] That is not the case. We want to bring Walesa into Belweder within the framework of a political plan that we have called acceleration. The plan is intended to save Poland from immediate dangers, such as growing social dissatisfaction and those of a longer term kind—an economic impasse and the continued existence of structures that are economically ineffective and threaten democracy.

[Paradowska] The result has been that a significant section of the policy-makers among the political elites is against you, as well as a fairly substantial section of society.

[Kaczynski] The main result has been that we have created a political power base for Walesa. Perhaps it is not the kind that we wanted, but it exists. It is a formation that has—I am convinced of this—a future and it is one that Poland needs very much, a center right formation that is free from the handicaps that are linked to the nationalist right. In addition, we have compelled the other side to define itself politically.

[Paradowska] It would seem to have had more to do with a choice of personalities, and that is still quite a long way off from being political definition.

[Kaczynski] What did you expect? Did you think that they would start flying the red flag? That would be impossible in today's Poland.

[Paradowska] So, in your opinion, they are Reds?

[Kaczynski] They have left-wing convictions. They come from a Polish tradition that was actually the tradition of a minority, but sank roots in Poland in the middle of the nineteenth century and which defines itself as the secular intelligentsia, or the secular left. I do not see anything offensive about these terms. We come from a different tradition. We represent that part of society that did not give in to communism, for which dealings with the communist system had a superficial character and whose essence linking it to the Polish tradition remained intact.

[Paradowska] I have to admit that for the time being I do not see there being any such profound differences. What I do see, however, are clear divisions centering on personalities.

[Kaczynski] Yet, organizationally those who have been taking issue with us have made a choice. They have created Democratic Action. It is true that in terms of

programs the differences are not that clear, because they have exactly copied our program. Politics is not only about slogans, however, but also about biographies and domestic and international connections. If we look at the matter from this angle, then the differences are clear.

[Paradowska] Democratic Action will register itself as a political party? What about the Center Accord?

[Kaczynski] It is not an issue that we are considering. The law on political parties is not good, and we do not know why it was passed—incidentally, this is one important reason why we maintain that we can no longer preserve the current political setup. As far as the Center's structure is concerned, that is a complicated problem. It is a grouping that has the form of a coalition, and the coalition is a close one. We will no doubt become a political party at some point in the future, but it is difficult to say what degree of internal cohesion it will have at this stage. The Center will hold a congress in the fall, and the structure of our grouping will no doubt become clearer then. Currently, we are seeing a great deal of interest in the Center on the part of regional citizens committees.

[Paradowska] So, there is interest on the one hand, and very serious charges concerning your methods of political campaigning on the other. It is being charged that the Center wants to solve Polish problems by using the methods of the street, that it has debased the language of political campaigning, and that it is creating a gulf between the intelligentsia and the workers.

[Kaczynski] All these charges are false. They are the product of the propaganda campaign that is being waged against us, and, of course, of the clearly preponderant influence in the mass media of the side that created Democratic Action.

[Paradowska] But those are social facts, and politicians must take account of such facts.

[Kaczynski] So, let us talk about facts. You say that we are using the methods of the street. There is not one shred of evidence to support the contention that we are heading in that direction. Have we organized even one single demonstration? Have we backed any kind of protest action? What we have proposed is a certain political plan, which includes the resignation of the current president and the appointment of a new one by the National Assembly, which is in keeping with the law as it is at present. The reason for favoring the election of a president by the National Assembly is that it would make it possible to avoid the dangers connected with stirring up public feeling during the course of an election campaign, especially if Walesa and Mazowiecki were to be competing against each other. We would have no objections, however, to the introduction of a constitutional amendment and the holding of general elections: We would accept that and would back Walesa in the elections. A change in the holder of the office of president is more important to us than the form that such a change would take. So, where do the methods of the street come into all of this?

As for the second issue—debasing the language of political debate: Who is actually attacking whom? The very same people who until recently were saying that the program that we have been promoting is immoral are now copying our plan. It is very convenient to say: "They are not our political opponents and are nothing but immoral people; we are democrats and the rest are just rednecks." The argument that is going on in Poland today is not an argument between demons and angels. It is a clash between political concepts pertaining to fundamental issues: emerging from the present situation and about how to get to democracy; attitudes toward the people and its traditions; and, to some extent, the character of the future economic setup.

[Paradowska] We can agree on the chronology of events and the facts, but the argument was, nevertheless, started by the paper that you run, TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, and it did not employ the language of dialogue.

[Kaczynski] TYGODNIK began to criticize and stated that the group that has now set up the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD] has a left-wing character and in some ways had links to what was the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] at one time. There is proof of that. After all, Bujak clearly acknowledged on television that plans for the creation of a "Solidarity"-PZPR government were on the verge of being realized at one point and that is confirmed by Michnik's later statements defending the retention of assets by what are now the Social Democrats. So, we simply told the truth. It is true that we smashed a certain coterie convention among comrades that there are simply things that one does not talk about, and if there are things that are not to be talked about, then there is no normal political life.

What about the gulf between the intelligentsia and the workers? On the other side there really are many people of high intellectual standing with significant achievements to their credit. The imbalance is obvious. We do not question that. No one has a monopoly, however, on being an intellectual. There are also people who can only be described as intellectuals in the Center, and new people are constantly joining us. Yet, it is also true that a significant section of the influential policy-makers in the intelligentsia have got involved in a form of politics that can only be described as directed democracy or democracy in doses.

It was an attempt to create mechanisms that would make it possible to concentrate all power in the hands of one group and create a party in which "those at the top" would not be subject to any form of control from those below. It was a mistake, and it was a mistake that we criticized. We have to distinguish, however, between criticism of certain political intentions and criticism of the intelligentsia as such.

[Paradowska] If, as you say, ROAD has copied your program, then how do you differ from each other except in your choice of personalities regarding immediate political plans?

[Kaczynski] ROAD rejects the policy of acceleration—that is, it wants to preserve current social structures.

[Paradowska] On the contrary, ROAD says: Forward.

[Kaczynski] They say that, but support the policy of proceeding step by step. At the present time, this means staying in the same place and preserving the current setup. Things have to be speeded up in order to dismantle this setup. There are two reasons for this. First, we need a new political system and a definite break with the old arrangement. This will make it possible to win an extension of patience from society. However, it has to be a radical acceleration.

[Paradowska] So, Walesa becomes president, and then the whole nomenklatura is thrown out. I can understand the first objective: a new president, a new parliament, and the government will obtain new legitimacy. A radical acceleration, however, is already something that I begin to have doubts about: throw out everybody who held any kind of post in the previous system? Are there enough people to fill the new posts? Are they all Reds who have not been suitably trained for their work?

[Kaczynski] We really do want to remove the nomenklatura from its posts, but we do not want to conduct purges of any kind. People who hold posts should be in them solely because of relevant training and skills, but the people in those posts at the present time were primarily put there for political reasons. I used the words "radical acceleration," although I realize that this may not be received well. It is necessary, however, to behave radically in order to dispel social frustration.

Why do people in the provinces say "nothing has changed"? That is nonsense. A great deal has changed, but the changes are only visible from Warsaw. In the workplace, the foreman has not changed and the manager is the same one who was installed during martial law. It should be noted that is was during martial law that politicization reached the very lowest levels of management. No foremen took part in the 1988 and 1989 strikes, whereas in 1980 managers in charge of large units went on strike. The people who were appointed to posts for political reasons are now meant to make decisions about, for example, dismissals—that is, about the fate of other people. That is one of the reasons why many people do not see the changes that are taking place in Poland, and this is a social fact, because, from their perspective, nothing or little has changed.

[Paradowska] Do you mean to say that every senior worker or foreman in every plant is a political agent? Have no skilled people held on to their jobs? Does everyone have to be thrown out? If you do not mind my saying so, that is pure demagogy.

[Kaczynski] I am not talking about dismissing everyone, but what I am saying is that the problem has to be considered. Today, we know enough about who has proved himself in what post. The experiment with directors has failed. As specialists, they were supposed to adapt to the new system. They adapted in a very one-sided way—they started knocking down the wall that could be knocked down easiest, that is, employee rights. They did not institute changes, however, aimed at implementing the Balcerowicz reform.

If this arrangement and other informal arrangements in the economy do not change, then the reform will completely grind to a halt. There is also one other cause of social frustration that has to be removed in a radical manner—that is, nomenklatura buy-outs. It is an issue that crops up during every meeting with voters. If you ask me about a senator from Elblag who belongs to the Center Accord, or Mrs. Kuratowska, a senator from Nowy Sacz who is a member of ROAD, we will tell you the same thing—we constantly hear complaints to the effect that those who profited under the old system are faring well, while ordinary people have to tighten their belts more and more.

[Paradowska] There already is an appropriate law on this matter. Is the next step to be the establishment of a worker-peasant inspectorate?

[Kaczynski] Which will travel about Poland gathering up everything? That is quite an amusing idea, were it not for the fact that it was tragic in the past. I think that it would be enough to vigorously enforce the existing provisions of the law with the aid of the present state apparatus.

[Paradowska] Politics is now in its summer recess. How do you see the future course of events?

[Kaczynski] We are in a kind of political stalemate situation, and it is difficult to predict how events will develop. For the Center, the key issue is the presidency. We believe that the present setup hinges on it. There has to be a change of president in order to change the present setup. We wanted to settle the matter through what I would call diplomatic channels, and we held talks with a view to inducing Wojciech Jaruzelski to step down.

They did not produce a solution. So, we went ahead (until then we had held back on this) with the initiative of collecting signatures under an appeal to the president asking him to step down. We have collected the signatures of 125 deputies and senators, which I think is a good number for an initiative that was launched on the day before parliament went into recess. We will take it up again, and we will resume talks if the president's office is prepared to take part in them. We want to see the matter settled as quickly as possible, because there is still a possibility that the change could take place in a way that would not harm the dignity of the office.

President Jaruzelski responded to the appeal very quickly and shelved the issue by, in a way, passing it to the Sejm, whose composition is undemocratic. It is a

form of political evasion. We believe that the president should step down in the next few weeks. As for what should happen after that, our position is clear. We support Lech Walesa.

[Paradowska] Many people are afraid of a Walesa presidency.

[Kaczynski] In a normal democratic country, and that is what we want to become, it is always the case that there are those who support one particular person and those who prefer someone else. I see that what you are concerned about, however, are fears connected with Walesa as someone who will rule with an iron rod, as someone who will govern in an authoritarian way. The Center has never called for authoritarian government. The president should have enough powers—and no more than that—to ensure the continuity of Polish representation abroad and a stable government within the country. The scope of the powers are precisely defined by the Constitution. A stabilization of the situation in Poland can be attained in two ways: through the presidency or through a hegemonic party. That latter path is, as we know very well, exceptionally damaging to public life and society. French experience (that is the type of presidency that we favor) shows that the presidency can aid the development of true democracy well.

[Paradowska] In addition to constitutional powers, personality also matters.

[Kaczynski] Of course, Walesa would be a president who would be in a strong position, in view of his personal authority all over the world, as well as in Poland. It would, of course, however, be a presidency within a clearly defined legal framework, and that is the only sort that we want.

Jaruzelski Meets Glemp at Jasna Gora Monastery

LD1608173190 Warsaw PAP in English 1504 GMT 16 Aug 90

[Text] Czestochowa, Aug 16—Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski arrived at the Jasna Gora monastery in Czestochowa this afternoon to meet with Polish Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp.

Jaruzelski was greeted in the Holy Mother's Chapel under the most revered picture of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa by monastery's Prior Jerzy Tomzinski who voiced deep appreciation to the president that after such a painful event which the recent fire in the monastery was he came to Jasna Gora.

Gypsies Begin Publishing Monthly Magazine

LD1808210490 Warsaw PAP in English 1837 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Bialystok, Aug 18—The first issue of the first monthly magazine of Polish gypsies titled 'RROM P-O DROM' (GYPSY ON CROSSROADS) has appeared in Bialystok.

Its editor-in-chief is Stanislaw Stankiewicz-Stahiro, poet, musician, and journalist of Bialystok. The magazine carries several articles on the history and present day of the gypsies, and their tragic plight during World War 2. There are also reprints from foreign journals.

The magazine comes out in the Romany language but to reach businessmen who do not know it the publication also carries advertisements in Polish.

Citizens Said 'Not Affected' by Gulf Crisis

AU1908155590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1410 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/8/1990—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania shows that the Romanian personnel on mission in Iraq, including the experts working as part of economic cooperation ventures were not affected by the events in the Gulf.

The Foreign Ministry has continued the demarches, taking adequate steps to ensure the return to the country in full safety of all Romanian citizens wanting it. The Iraqi authorities have given assurances that the Romanian citizens may return to Romania any time, upon request, with no obstacle at all.

The Romanian personnel's return to the country is on course: the competent Romanian institutions and the Romanian embassies in the region handle and promptly settle the technicalities.

The Foreign Ministry thinks there are no reasons to worry about the present situation of the Romanian personnel on mission in Iraq or about the return home of all those wanting to.

The Foreign Ministry reports that over 60 Romanian citizens have already returned to the country and about 200 are expected to arrive in a few days, a first group having to come by the Tarom [Romanian Airline] flight on Monday, August 20, from Amman.

Hungarian Foreign Minister's Statements Viewed

AU2008083590 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 7 Aug 90 p 4

[D. Tinu article: "What Is It That the World Knows and What Is It That We Did Not Know—Temptation of the Ambiguous"]

[Text] "Relations with Bucharest are bad and will possibly become even worse," said Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky in an interview he granted to the Spanish weekly TIEMPO. The Romanian reader can justifiably be confused: Is it right to be so or is it bad? Is Mr. Jeszenszky pleased by it or does he make these statements with regret? We must admit that from the scant MTI report we could not figure it out either. So it is difficult to enlighten the readers. Something makes us believe that it pleased him. We recall a recent discussion with Romulus Neagu, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that during the recent Romanian-Hungarian talks in Budapest, the Hungarian side agreed that it does not have to pose as attorney or guardian of the Hungarian minority in Romania (we believe that the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania itself, which represents the second largest group in the parliament, thus having broad possibilities to assert its platform, would not accept such pretensions of the "mother nation.") Yet, the head of Hungarian diplomacy insists on creating a problem for Hungarian ethnics in Romania, shaking its finger at Bucharest for not observing "previous commitments." Thus, involuntarily, the question arises: Are not Pythias' predictions in Budapest desired and programmed?

Leadership Deficit, European Integration Decried

AU1708193490 Bucharest "22" in Romanian No. 29/3 Aug 90 p 1

[Dan Pavel article: "Forgetting"]

[Excerpts] The history of Romanians is one of expectation. In order to get out of a deadlock or to achieve something, we have always waited.

However, just when the waiting has become quite absurd, like in the past 10 years, we were suddenly rewarded for our patience. All of a sudden, we had a revolution, with which we proved that we do not yet know what to do. If our rulers had known what to do and had not waited so long to see which way the wind was blowing, we would not have returned to our traditional place at Europe's hind end. I trust that many people have noticed that: In all events this year, our rulers just waited—only they know what for—and have always acted after the facts. [passage omitted]

The problem is that, after the recent violent disturbances, our leaders are not waiting for Europe to judge us, but rather for it to forget. However, no method has yet been invented to forget the bloodshed. [passage omitted]

The illusion that the Westerners will forget what happened in our country is a typically propagandistic and communist self-deception; like the one that Westerners are more stupid than they are, or more stupid than us. But both these illusions were shared by our prime minister in Paris when he supplied, in a French TV program, one of the known ridiculous official versions of the 13-15 June events. [passage omitted]

Being faithful to the tactic of expectation, we risk that nobody will expect us anymore to integrate ourselves into Europe. We will thus achieve quite a geopolitical performance: Being an island in the middle of a continental mainland.

Quelle 'Error' on Transylvania Corrected

AU1708140990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1028 GMT 17 Aug 90

["Mass-Media—'Quelle' scandal"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/8/1990—On Thursday, August 16, representatives of the West German "Quelle" company handed over to the managerial board of the Romanian Television, official letters informing that the advertising spot in which, by "error",

Transylvania was made a part of Hungary and which was a cause for great indignation in Romania, had been withdrawn.

Liberal Party's Lazarescu Meets U.S. Politicians

AU2008075190 Bucharest VIITORUL in Romanian 8 Aug 90 p 1

[Eugen Iordache article: "Meeting Between Mr. Dan Lazarescu, Head of the parliamentary group of the National Liberal Party in the Deputies Assembly and a Group of U.S. Politicians"]

[Text] On Friday, 3 August 1990, in the city of Timisoara, Mr. Dan Lazarescu, vice president of the National Liberal Party [NLP], met with a group of U.S. politicians visiting Romania. Addressing himself to the distinguished guests, Mr. Lazarescu said: "Romania is in a very difficult situation compared with the rest of the former communist countries. Our country has made only 'gestures,' not important steps toward privatization. We want to join Europe and the other democratic countries; therefore, we need help. As a result of the Yalta conference, Romania was 'left'—as we all know—in the Soviet sphere of influence for 50 years. The responsibility for this act devolves on the United States, which has the moral duty to help our country from a material and financial viewpoint, particularly since we find ourselves today at a stage of economic development, in which elements of the Asian mode of production still persist. The question is whether the West and the United States will give us assistance. We hope that the answer will be positive."

"From a political viewpoint, the most urgent problem for Romania—this also applies to the United States or any other country—is who will emerge victorious in the end: Bureaucracy or intelligence?"

Roman Receives Former U.S. Ambassador Kirk

AU1708164690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1524 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/8/1990—On August 17 Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman received Ambassador Roger Kirk, member of the "Atlantic Council," former U.S. ambassador to Romania.

After the call, Mr. Roger Kirk stated to a ROMPRES editor that he had had a very frutful meeting with Prime Minister Roman which had made a very good impression upon him. He said that today's Romania was very different from yesterday's Romania, the differences being hopeful. The former ambassador welcomed Romania's stand in the Gulf conflict. He considered Romania a very interesting country in full transition process and wished it much success, hoping to deepen the collaboration between the U.S.A. and Romania.

Roman Meets With French Businessmen

AU1908155790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1418 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/8/1990—Petre Roman, prime minister of Romania, received Robert Soulie, president of the Minemet firm and Francois Lestel, representative of the Ring-Oil Investment of France.

They discussed aspects of cooperation in nonferrous metallurgy, crude extraction and processing.

Government Fights 'Negative Phenomena' in Economy

AU1708185090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1751 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/8/1990—Romania's government decided to put an end to those phenomena hampering the efforts made for the economic stability and growth, affecting the population's adequate supply, reads an official communique released in Bucharest Friday evening.

To this purpose, the communique specifies, the government will take firm measures using all the means at its disposal. At the same time, the government will in the shortest possible time make proposals on the adoption of normative acts in keeping with the law on the reorganisation of state-run units as autonomous and trading societies. A group with special attributions has been set up within the prime minister's control body to study and promote measures capable to put an end to those perturbing phenomena.

The government's action in that field, the communique further reads, will be carried out wisely and within the limits of the law, so that a distinction be made between the private enterprisers' activity and the activity carried on by those persons willing to use the current circumstances to get rich overnight.

Motivating its decision by the necessity to stop the gradual decrease of the living standard, the government asks for the population's support in eliminating the negative phenomena which prevent the implementation of the economic reform programme. To this end, the government noticed with worry that, besides the diminution of output and labour productivity, an alarming increase has been recorded in the number of thefts from enterprises and commercial units for speculation purposes.

Government Commission To Fight Profiteering

AU1908155890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1418 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/8/1990—A government commission has been set up under a government decision to investigate into, avert and fight embezzlement of food and other consumer goods from producer

units and from the normal commercial flow for the purpose of sale at home or abroad at profiteering prices.

As part of this drive, the county prefects and the capital's general mayor shall take immediate steps to set up similar local commissions and joint control teams for prompt action in the producer economic units and shops, as well as in the frontier zones and stations. These steps, announced on August 18, materialize the government's intentions announced in a communique released the day before to fight profiteering and other negative phenomena that tell on the population's living standard.

Antigovernment Demonstrations in Cluj

AU1708141890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1005 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/8/1990—Under the aegis of the Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum—to which the local branches of the NLP [National Liberal Party], the CD-NPP [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party], the HDUR [Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania], the Monarchic Liberal Party and others have adhered—about 150 people organized an unauthorized demonstration in the centre of the city of Cluj-Napoca on Thursday afternoon.

To the diaspproval of most onlookers the demonstrators walked along Napoca street gathering in the Peace Square. There they chanted slogans against the country's president, against the government, demanded the replacement of the county prefect appointed by the government.

The "Hymn of the Hooligans" was sung and the slogan "Down with Communism" was also chanted.

In connection with the actions undertaken of late by the Cluj Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum the leaderships of the Cluj branches of the Social Democratic Party and the Democratic Labour Party issued a communique showing inter alia that their parties should consider the proclamation of the forum which was born from the slogans chanted in the street during the latest demonstrations directly led by irresponsible people who want to destabilize the country, both politically and economically, and even to divide it.

Efforts To Increase Energy Supply Reported

AU1708164590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1527 GMT 17 Aug 90

["'The Energetic Winter' To Come"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/8/1990—The state of energy is critical as the weather has been dry this year and water reserves, in hydropower station storage lakes have dropped to half, says Mr. V. Roman, manager of the National Energy Dispach Centre. Now, he points out, consumption is within normal limits for this period of the year and for the standard of living in Romania, representing 8-10 percent for the population, 63.7 percent for industry and about 20 percent for agriculture. But consumption is still large in industry, particularly in chemistry and metallurgy, that are alloted 85 percent of the energy distributed to industry, which has led to imports worth 10 million kwh electric energy from the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Turkey, West Germany and France, a tendency to boost import being noticeable.

In his turn, Mr. Simion Emilian, adviser in the Electric Power Department, voiced his concern about the energy supply next winter, as hydropower stations will work at only 10 percent of their installed generating capacity and coal-fuelled thermoelectric stations, because of their design and of the way they are used, can operate only 5,000-5,500 hours of the 8,760 possible hours a year.

On the other hand, the electric energy produced in Romania is more expensive, because of out-of-date equipment and its inadequate use. That is why it is recommended to re-establish prices in the state-run energy sector, according to the rise in the tariffs of energy resources—black oil, gas, coal. The price of the energy supplied to industrial and trade units and of the electric power for the population's consumption will remain the same, simion emilian points out.

Until the program for energy production in nuclear power stations is applied, the adviser shows, efforts are made to increase the energy supply by setting conventional plants to work and by augmenting coal and crude oil imports.

Thermal power production will probably increase—30 percent this winter, to secure the population's supply, Simion Emilian says adding that miners must supply at least as much coal as they did last year.

Roman Meets Five Trade Union Representatives

AU1808141290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Prime Minister Mr. Petre Roman met this morning with representatives of the five large trade union organizations—Fratia, Infratirea, Alpha, the National Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Romania, and the Convention of Nonaffiliated Trade Unions of Romania. The prime minister emphasized the role of the dialogue with the trade unions and pointed out the need for cooperation between the government and the trade unions and for a more clear formulation of their claims toward the executive power. The meeting was attended by Mr. Catalin Zamfir, minister of labor and social security, and Mr. Mihai Zisu, minister of industry and resources.

Further on Roman, TU Meeting

AU2008084290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0737 GMT 20 Aug 90

["Government-Trade Unions Dialogue"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/8/1990—Saturday, 18 August, Romanian Premier Petre Roman met with representatives of the trade unions that make up the Trade Unions' Joint Working Commission which gathers the leaders of five large trade union alliances.

A communique on that meeting shows that the principles were approached of organizing a permanent dialogue between the government and the trade unions on the two major objectives of the transition: the implementation of the economic and social reform and the overcoming of the present economic crisis in conditions of as low social costs as possible.

The prime minister set forth the general goals of the transition programme and the stages of its implementation.

The legal framework of a market economy is envisaged to be set up in 18 months with the next 3-4 years to see a modernization of the economy after the model set by the advanced countries; it is estimated that in 4-5 years Romania will be able to reach a standard of living comparable with that of the Western countries.

In this first stage of the transition, when the mechanisms of an authentic market economy are not finalized yet, the government will still assume part of responsibilities regarding the putting of conditions in place for a normal course of the economic process by maintaning a balance for some raw materials and by subsidizing the prices of certain basic products. The government will pursue a consistent policy of gradually reducing its immixture in the economy otherwise than through economic-financial levers; it will be the administration councils that will have to solve production problems and prove a higher sense of responsibility in this respect.

Government also pursues a consistent policy of social protection of employees and disadvantaged categories ensuring a minimum income function of both the requirements of a decent living and the possibilities of the national economy and exercising a control over the evolution of prices and inflation.

The trade unions have to play an important role in the implementation of the government's programme. Stress was laid on the joint goal of the transition to the market economy with minimum social costs, social stability being a prerequisite in this respect.

The government will analyse the proposals advanced by various trade union organizations in connection with the conditions and modalities of achieving the moratorium. Likewise, the trade unions' claims will be discussed in the context of all the claims account being taken of their implications on the national economy.

The meeting was assessed as an important starting point of organized and systematic talks between the government and trade union representatives. Tangible modalities of cooperation were set to organise a system of joint commissions to focus on the questions that concern the trade union movement.

The dialogue thus initiated will be continued at various levels on tangible issues, in an appropriatedly organized framework jointly agreed upon by the representatives of the government and governmental institutions and those of the trade union organizations, the communique reads in conclusion.

Valentin Ceausescu, Poliana Cristescu Freed

AU1708164090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1535 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/8/1990—On August 16, 1990 the Bucharest Military Court rejected the request made by the Military Prosecutor's Offices concerning the further investigative custody (for another 30 days) of defendants Ceausescu Valentin—due to start on August 17, 1990—and Cristescu Poliana and Oprean Mircea (husband of late dictators' daughter)—due to start on August 18, 1990—all of them accused of undermining the national economy stipulated by Article 165 paragraph 2 Penal Code because the inquiry could proceed without their being held in custody.

The judgment is final, being not subject to appeal.

Valentin was released from jail on Friday afternoon, while the other two defendants will be freed on Saturday, August 18, 1990.

Other Clan Members Released

AU1808141390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Zoe Ceausescu [Nicolae Ceausescu's daughter], her husband Mircea Oprean, and Poliana Cristescu [Nicu Ceausescu's ex-wife] were released from custody today. They will be further investigated on the charge of having undermined the national economy.

Iliescu Attends Military Academy Graduation

AU1908155790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1413 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/8/1990—The graduation of the Military Academy by the 1990 batch of command and staff officers, the first promotion after the revolution, occasioned a ceremony marked by the rediscovery of the Romanian military traditions. The event, honoured by the presence of the country's president Ion Iliescu, had a twofold meaning. The batch of the revolution was celebrated as well as the first year of the Military

Academy in the second century of existence of that prestigious institution. [sentence as received]

The inaugural address was made by Nicolae Eftimescu, commander of the Military Academy, who said that the current batch proved its moral and combat ability on the hot days of the December events.

Referring to the outstanding significance of the day, the national defence minister, Colonel-General Victor Stanculescu, evoked in his address the Romanian Army's traditions of valor, the contribution of the military on the December revolution days, highlighting the necessity to update the Army and professionally improve it, its role in the defence of the country's independence, integrity and quiet, of new Romania's democratic institutions. The minister showed that they celebrated the same day also the centennial of the Military Academy an event skipped by the old regime last August. He highlighted that the new batch of command and staff officers was about to take up their posts in their units with the firm determination to discharge their military attributes in the best of conditions, to participate in the process of democratic renewal of the Army, of consolidation in a new spirit of the ancestral bond between soldiers and the nation.

President Ion Iliescu evoked in his address the intimate links between the people and the Army in the struggle for the same ideals.

The ceremony, attended also by ministers, senators and deputies, executives of the Ministry of National Defence, war veterans, military attaches accredited to Romania, other officials, concluded in front of the Military Academy building with the parade of the graduates of the batch of the revolution.

Iliescu Attends Summer University Opening

AU1908193090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] The courses of the Nicolae Iorga [Romanian pre-World War II historian and politician] Summer People's University opened today at the Culture House of Valenii de Munte, Prahova County. The 1990 edition of this prestigious event—which was initiated in 1908 by the great writer himself—reintegrates, in the spiritual life of new Romania, outstanding discussions on history, culture, arts, moral guidance, and philosophy, in a Romanian and European context, thus becoming a strong emanation center for humanistic values. Mr. Ion Iliescu, Romania's president, Mr. Mihai Draganescu, president of the Romanian Academy, other Academy members, historians, scientists, and artists as well as more than 200 students from all over the country and guests from abroad honored this event with their presence.

* Transcript of Munteanu's Speech Before Arrest

Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 1 Aug 90 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed article: "Marian Munteanu, 13 June 1990: Balcony Transcript"]

[Text] The crowd came into the square. Chants of "Victory." Crowd singing: "We won't go from here, won't go home/ Until we win our freedom."

1658—Marian Munteanu: We have all learned...

Square: Down with Chitac! Down with Iliescu!

Marian Munteanu: We all learned what happened last night and today. My colleagues, the university students, have decided to call a strike.

People applaud and shout: General strike!

Marian Munteanu: And to remain barricaded inside the university until the entire truth is brought to light.

Applause, shouts: "Victory," "Assassins," "Where are the ones arrested?"

1704—Marian Munteanu: Let us immediately demand the release of all those arrested. Let us demand the release of all the detainees.

Crowd: Let's overrun them.

Marian Munteanu: Against violence...

1705—Marian Munteanu: Violence was perpetrated against us in this square. Some people were arrested, some were wounded, and I don't know, there may even have been casualties. We demand to be told immediately the exact situation of those arrested and to have them released. We also demand immediate measures to punish those responsible.

Square: Let us run over them.

1706—Marian Munteanu: Before anything else, we must get organized. So, first of all we must ensure... But before anything else we must make sure that we are organized, so that we don't let who knows who infiltrate us. Also, we want to ask those who are near children...

1708—Marian Munteanu: Attention, attention! Quiet, good people! It's better... I suggest you immediately send a delegation to demand the release of those arrested.

The crowd whistles, unhappy.

1709—Marian Munteanu: I have been told that a delegation has already gone to the Bucharest Police to demand the release of those arrested.

Crowd: We will go too!

Marian Munteanu: I was told that a group went to the Bucharest Police to demand the release of those arrested.

Crowd: We will go too!

Marian Munteanu: This very moment I am told that there is a group at the Bucharest Police... which went to demand the release of those arrested... We are requested from the street... Attention, Attention! We are requested from the street to go all together to the police to demand the release of those arrested.

Approving calls.

Marian Munteanu: So, in this case, let's form columns. Let us leave the Square and go to the police. Good people! Attention, attention! I appeal for your understanding. Please, this is not the time to argue...

His words are covered by the shouts of the crowd.

1713—Marian Munteanu: We beg of you, some people are under arrest. We beg of you, if we can continue to behave in a dignified manner and resolutely, let's do so. Not pull anything, and not in groups and cliques. If we can take a common attitude, let's show moderation and dignity. We have no other chance. I appeal for your understanding, and I ask you from the bottom of my heart to take a stand against those who cause dissent among the demonstration through uncontrolled actions and unreasonable attitudes. Let us remain united, let us stay together. Otherwise we don't stand a chance.

Shouts of "No Violence!" and applause.

1714—Marian Munteanu: We don't have any other chance. I beg you take a stand...

In the square, a turbulent group tries to get the crowd to go to the police. Some of them shout: "We're wasting time, let's go to the Bucharest Police!..."

Marian Munteanu: I beg of you, once again I ask you and I appeal for your understanding, please! Attention, I beg you take a stand against those who try to break the consensus. I beg you from the bottom of my heart. Attention, good people!

Allow me and please listen to me for a couple of minutes. Please! If you want to continue to act so as to be of real use to this country, please, at least now...

Attention, please!

Those on the balcony desperately try to stop the demonstrators.

1717—Marian Munteanu: Let's stay in this square... without any maneuvers. To now go to the police is a purely irresponsible gesture.

1718—Marian Munteanu: Let's cordon off the square. Please make a cordon here, in front, and...

We disassociate ourselves from any irresponsible association or group that tries to incite a small group of people to start fighting, to start fighting the Army. We absolutely disassociate ourselves!!!

Applause in the square.

Marian Munteanu: I beg of you! If this demonstration thinks it's normal to agree to be manipulated, incited by a small group of irresponsible people, and to blindly run into guns, we disassociate ourselves from those people and deny they have any connection with us.

1720—Marian Munteanu: If we want our protest to be effective we must ignore those people. Stop shouting so much! We don't want to do anything... Please...

Shouts of protest and discontent from the street.

Marian Munteanu: My colleagues came and said... Please! Colleagues came and said that there are about 400 detainees in the police yard who are now talking to Colonel Patrascu. We will right away send a group of colleagues to find out the situation exactly.

The station goes off. Marian Munteanu's words can no longer be heard.

Students League Communique on Munteanu Release

AU2008084990 Bucharest VIITORUL in Romanian 8 Aug 90 p 2

["Communique" issued by the Students League of Bucharest University on the release of student leader Marian Munteanu on 2 August; place not given]

[Text] Communique of the Students League of Bucharest University:

Today, 2 August 1990, Marian Munteanu, president of the Students League of Bucharest University and honorary president of the National Students Congress was released from custody, with the statement that investigations into his case will continue.

We note with satisfaction that with the intervention of the Military Prosecutor's Office in the Marian Munteanu case, the legal course of penal procedure has been resumed.

Our organization will further act in accordance with the principles of its statute and of the National Students Congress documents.

We point out that, in the coming period, we will reduce the public presence of the Students League and of its president, who is convalescing, to avoid any kind of provocation or tendentious interpretation.

At the same time, we will never abandon our ideal: truth, freedom, democracy, and nonviolence and we will constructively support the efforts for the country's democratization.

We thank all those we stood and stand by us.

The Students League of Bucharest University

Information Department, Theodor Nitu

Head of the Press Bureau, Mugur Vasiliu

Health Ministry Statement on Cholera Cases

AU1908155290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1454 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/8/1990—In connection with the news items sent by the Bulgarian news agency BTA on August 18, 1990 referring to restrictions on private trips by persons from Romania and by Bulgarian citizens to Romania because of the incidence of cholera, as well as with the holding of talks between the Romanian and Bulgarian Foreign Ministries, a release from the Romanian Ministry of Health shows that the Romanian authorities have not been contacted so far by the Bulgarian authorities.

The same release shows that as many as 70 cases of cholera were reported between July 19 and August 19, 1990. All the ill persons were tracked in due time, taken to hospital and given due medical care. No death was recorded and 25 persons are still in hospital for treatment. No instance of getting ill was recorded with the foreign tourists.

None of the ill persons reside in localities by the Danube on the frontier sections with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. All patients registered so far live and work in Tulcea County or traveled on their own in the Danube Delta drinking water directly from the river.

No incidence of cholera was reported in the coast resorts or with the tourists using services offered by the Romanian travel agencies.

Considering the evolutions of the previous cholera epidemics in Romania, the release shows, this year's one is moderate in evolution, given that the population has been promptly informed and understood that the observance of hygiene rules can avert the disease.

National Peasant Party Reorganizes Leadership

AU1708141190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1030 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/8/1990—The Steering Committee of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party opened its proceedings in Bucharest on Thursday to discuss questions related to the reorganization of the party's central leadership.

During the Thursday session a draft on the promotion of front-rankers in the middle-age and young generations to the party leadership, up to the highest echelons, was submitted for discussion and approval.

The participants will make the respective nominations in today's session.

100 Political Parties Registered in Romania

AU1708164890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1516 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/8/1990—In the past two months another ten new political parties and groups were registered in Romania—the Christian and Democratic Revolution Party, the Neo- Liberal Movement, the Party of Nomad and Pail-Making Romanies (headquartered in Sibiu), the New Democracy Party, the Independent Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party (headquartered in Craiova), the Organization for Social Security and Assistance (headquartered in Iasi), the Ecological Federation of Romania, the National Liberal Party - the Young Wing, the Constitutional Monarchic Union and the Free Republican Party—to put the total number of political parties and organizations at 100.

Twenty of the 100 parties were registered after the May 20 elections which were contested by 76 political groups—of which 62 were registered individually and 14 formed electoral cartels.

'Copyright Society' Set Up for Artists

AU1708164990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1526 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/8/1990—The Romanian Copyright Society (also called Authors' Society) has recently been created and registered as an artificial person. [as received] It is non-political and its members are artists from every field, who present their creation in shows, print, media and other various audio and video means.

The society is affiliated to S.A.C.D (Societe des Auteurs) in Paris, and aims to turn to account the creation of its members abroad. [sentence as received]

New Magaine THE EUROPEAN HOUSE Issued

AU1608125790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1024 GMT 16 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/8/1990— "Let's make villagers have at their disposal everything they need from mankind's knowledge and capacities concerning land tilling, animal breeding, farming, peasant household, the village, community life". That is the main idea of the editorial of the new magazine "The European House", whose first issue has been recently printed.

The magazine is published by the association "Romanian Village - European Village", under the patronage of the club "Vrancea Land, Lower Danube". Articles deal with the regaining of Romania's European status and its place in the interchange of values, the peasants' contribution to promoting national values, the permanence and originality of the Romanian spirituality kept unaltered in the Romanian language and in important traditions and customs, the necessity of cooperation between

states based on dignity and the respect of national identity, with folklore and artistic craftsmanship in Romania.

* National Salvation Front Victory Analyzed

90BA0266B Bucharest "22" inRomanian3 Aug 90 p 3

[Florea Fugariu article: "Mr. Brucan's Retraction"]

[Text] Before the elections we all threw mud at Mr. S. Brucan for having described the majority of the Romanian people as "stupid people" [previous two words published in English]; after the elections we began to tacitly or overtly agree with him, indignant or peeved as we were by the obvious failure of the opposition. This shift proves nothing less than the fact that none of us is very knowledgeable.

An article published in DREPTATEA of 7 July was plainly entitled "Forgive Me!" Remains to be seen whether Mr. Brucan will accept our apologies. I would say that we should not overshoot our mark and hasten to state that "those who attacked him" didn't have the "common sense to familiarize themselves with his ideology and read his writings (Mr. Brucan's)", because—I think—some of those who attacked him did know his "ideology" backwards and forwards, and not since yesterday. The author of the article gave Mr. Brucan credit where credit was due: "He was frank and he understood our 1990 society full well." I wouldn't say so, as we will see in a moment.

Among all the Romanian synonyms for translating the English "stupid people," the author suggested: "Our countrymen, the gypsies, have a more precise expression for the meaning that Mr. Brucan gave to the word 'stupid.' The exact expression is suckers! A nation of suckers! That expression is not insulting to anyone. And if we want to be objective we have to admit that it fits." We are allegedly suckers because we allow ourselves to be conned by the pro-governmental press and by the television news editors; because in our naivete we really believe that Messrs. Coposu and Campeanu are Iron Guardists; that Mrs. Cornea is betraying the country; that the bloody reprisal of the University Square demonstration continues; that drugs and weapons are being smuggled in, etc. "Those who have made lying into a lifestyle cannot live with truth. Degradation is their preferred environment. Moral hygiene kills them." This is how the author bitterly ended his thoughts on the manipulators and on the nation of suckers that allows itself to be manipulated.

There has never been a whole nation made up entirely of suckers (minus Mr. Brucan's "intellectuals"). In Mr. Brucan's careful and accurate language—as befits a professional—stupid people doesn't refer to a nation made up of people who are stupid, as it was wrongly understood, but to the common people, those who never had access to culture and are thus incapable of grasping abstract political and economic concepts like privatization, market economy, private initiative, etc., which is true, but is not the main reason for the common people's opposition to programs other than the NSF's [National Salvation Front]. Mr. Brucan either didn't understand or did not want to explain his formulation. I have explained in several articles—some published, others not—that the "Romanian people" voted for themselves in giving their vote to Mr. Iliescu and the NSF. They voted for their interests as they perceive them at this time. That they may be wrong in the long run, is another matter. Maybe the common people are stupid [previous word published in English] in this respect. But the word should have been avoided anyway.

However, Mr. Brucan is certainly mistaken when he leaves out over one million intellectuals, unless under intellectuals he includes all those with a university degree, the so-called graduates. The majority of us intellectuals are quasi-, semi-, under-, or unqualified. It is not shameful to admit this, because it is a fact; it is one of the bequests of the obscurantism elevated by the communist state to the level of cultural policy. Among us there may exist, however, some who don't realize that they are below the average professional level. Generally speaking, I think that the realization of their professional deficiencies prevents the Romanian intellectuals from opting more courageously for innovation. They, too, fear free market competition from professional competence and efficiency, and know that they are hopelessly outclassed. The retraining programs in middle level education speak for themselves. This kind of intellectuals are by definition conservative and NSF supporters, because they pin their hopes on the preservation of the old structures and try to stall, looking toward the past. Their partisanship is, however, immoral, because they cling to positions unlawfully secured under the old regime, and because they preempt others, younger and more competent, from doing the job. Time alone can take care of them (age limits), which is what they count on, too. Not unlike the old Greek fable about the dog in the manger, who wasn't eating the hay himself, but wasn't letting the horse get to it, either. Instead of vehement protests in the press against this viewpoint, I suggest we take a good look inward. Except that we are emotionally involved in this confusion of values. No way out.

As I said before, Mr. Brucan is no closer to the target regarding the people, either. The people, who gave 86 and 66 percent of their votes—if not out of understanding, certainly going with their intuition—voted for their interests. And the current interest of the majority of the nation, divided into social and professional "classes," is to preserve and defend the structures that give them an advantage. The fact that in the more distant future their opposition blocks the modernization of the country is a matter of indifference to the abovementioned "classes," which remain outside the common orders of the day: consensus, work, general well-being, etc. At his own level, every person belongs to a micro-"class" which looks upon the public wealth as a warehouse from which each one lugs away as much as he can. I want to propose a one to two year moratorium to the

pro-NSF press. We will still witness various forms of torpedoing all the good intentions of the government which will not come from the students or the working youth but from the vehement and relentless supporters of the NSF. For them the country is a big estate, divided up into micro-holdings which they exploit as if they were the sole leaseholders.

In conclusion: A sucker is a naive person fit for conning and plucking but he has a good heart and a good disposition and doesn't go into a paroxysm of fury in defense of his political interests. The people are neither stupid nor suckers. There is a difference between being manipulated and pretending not to see that one is being manipulated.

Bucharest, 9 July 1990

* Government-Trade Union Dialogue Fails Again

90BA0266A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 7 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[C. Vulcan article]

[Text] Less than two hours after the beginning of the meeting yesterday between the leadership of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare [MLSW] and leaders of various Romanian trade union organizations on the government program's moratorium, the talks ended without any results. They did not even get around to reading the trade unions' proposals for enforcing the moratorium (including the obligations of the government and of the trade unions for the respective period). This second attempt at a dialogue between the trade unions and the government failed more painfully than the first (of 30 June) which, after long discussions, had at least permitted both sides to better understand the other's viewpoints, such as they are, and to test the mood of the employees and their worry and anxiety about what the future may bring.

They have met several times to date. Although they belong to the same extended family, when it came to eliminating the injustices accumulated over the years of an illusory democracy (and a relentless dictatorship), both found themselves confronted by new situations, for which they had neither preset solutions or experience. The ones who were thought to have full pockets (and no foreign debts) ceded to the ones who came first to justly claim back what had been stolen from them. The ones who shouted loudest and looked most determined, won. Others, equally deserving but quieter, remained at the tail end of the line, much to their disadvantage.

Both the government and the trade unions live together under the same roof and share the same yard, both those who make demands for higher pay and better living conditions, and those who are expected to fulfill those demands, sometimes under ultimatum. Day after day, many leaders of confederations, federations, leagues, associations, or unions, representing tens and hundreds of thousands of members, and representatives of free-independent trade unions, continue to arrive at the MLSW to speak for their members.

How can the government talk when it is requested and separately with all the leaders of these confederations, federations, leagues, and independent trade unions, each with its own autonomy and specific activities and representing the interests of a specific group of employees?

A first and much needed attempt to begin a dialogue on the topic of the government's moratorium was the MLSW's initiative to invite (last week) the elected trade union units to a frank and constructive debate concerning ways of overcoming the existing animosities through joint efforts and cooperation. But the meeting did not go according to expectations. Many organizational flaws—such as the fact that the Fratia Confederation hall was too small to accommodate the meeting—needed to be remedied on the spot. Some say that the meeting was attended by 1,000 trade union leaders, others cite over 700; still, however many there may have been, it was not right that they should have to roam the city from one hall to another (and finally found one, after many attempts, at the University Law School). The same thing happened yesterday. The Law School auditorium was closed, so that the same hundreds of people were forced to "march" through the city all the way to the auditorium of the School of Chemistry. This kind of organizational slip denotes lack of respect for people who came from all over the country not to go shopping or to take care of personal business, but as partners in the dialogue with the government.

The fact that the meeting became bogged down from the very start was however, primarily due to the rift within the trade union movement itself, the intolerance shown by the sides for each other, and the suspicions existing among trade union centrals and leagues, associations, and independent trade unions. Thus, at one point the leaders of the Free Romanian National Trade Union Confederation [CNSLR], the ALFA Cartel, and the Fratia Confederation left the auditorium. "What are we doing here? Is each one talking in his own language? No one can understand anything!" "We didn't come here to talk politics but to discuss the moratorium!"—is what we understood the audience to be demanding.

In spite of the many endeavors to calm the din, it was impossible to enforce the rule of civilized discussions in the least reasonable or useful for both sides. It was like the CPUN [Provisional National Unity Council] at the time of the adoption of the electoral law.

Tactful and supportive of every constructive idea, showing understanding for the difficulties encountered and the efforts needed to find ways of smoothing them out, and cooperating as much as possible with the partners—as many trade union leaders noted—Mr. Catalin Zamfir acted more like a representative of the trade unions and their aspirations than as a minister of labor and social welfare. He suggested the establishment of a

trade union commission to participate directly in the debating of draft economic and social bills, and assured those present that very soon a magazine will be published as the venue for a national dialogue on the laws that will be presented in Parliament. But the minister's voice could not prevail above the choir of hundreds of other voices.

Thus, after two failed attempts, no progress was made. The talks and negotiations can continue like this forever, even after the expiration of the deadlines proposed for implementing the moratorium. That will not be to the advantage of either the government or the trade unions, and even less so of the millions of employees.

It is said that "sleeping" on a problem is a good idea. How many nights have passed since 30 July and until yesterday morning? When they go home, what will the leaders tell the thousands of members they represented at the talks, for the failure of which they, too, or more than a few of them, were equally responsible?

* Foreign Trade Official on Current Problems

90BA0263A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 5 Aug 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Napoleon Pop, head of the Foreign Trade Department of the Ministry of Trade and Tourism, by Ion Teodor; place and date not given—first paragraph is ADEVARUL introduction]

[Text] Recently we have been hearing many questions, even from specialists, concerning the principles and practical means of organizing the country's foreign trade activities. As a rule, the following arguments are cited: If the economic factors become autonomous, who—and in what manner—can intervene to maintain an even balance of trade and foreign payments? Who will decide what products and in what volumes to export? How will the imports required for industry, agriculture, and other areas be ensured? In an attempt to answer these questions—justified in our opinion—we had a talk with Mr. Napoleon Pop, secretary of state and head of the Foreign Trade Department at the Ministry of Commerce and Tourism [MCT].

[Pop] Indeed, I think we should also explain the functions of our department, which is now included within a new governmental structure, namely the MCT. This ministry is involved in mapping out and implementing the government's policy in the areas of trade and tourism as one element of the state's economic policy. Its duty is to decide the "rules of the game" in a market economy, with a view to ensuring a framework for goods and services transactions between producer and consumer in the country and abroad.

The transactions themselves will be carried out by domestic and foreign economic agencies enabled to deal in trade. The function of the governmental institutions is to work out regulations, norms, and specific mechanisms designed to facilitate the work of those agencies. In this context, the Foreign Trade Department is the "laboratory" where the state's commercial policy will be planned, implemented, and administrated. Consequently, the department will study foreign markets and the commercial policies of our partners, in relation to whom—and in line with our national commercial interests—it will draft the strategy for developing the country's foreign trade. The same criteria serve as the basis for the structure of our own commercial policy, which is designed to encourage economic factors to engage in foreign trade.

The implementation of the commercial policy requires two aspects: 1) that the department is involved in the negotiation and signing of agreements and other bilateral or multilateral trade contracts at governmental level; and 2) that we define the means and mechanisms through which the commercial policy becomes effective. We thus come to defining additional functions, such as: developing and implementing custom tariffs, subsidies, and means of restricting certain exports and imports—according to case—on the basis of licenses issued by the department. The latter prerogatives in fact require the development of a new foreign trade mechanism which will no longer contain any planning elements. Along this line, the above mentioned strategy for developing the foreign trade will provide certain guidelines for the economic agencies, which they may want to follow. At the same time, the department will issue authorizations to economic agencies interested in engaging in foreign trade. This is designed to ensure that the applicants clearly define the object of their foreign trade activities (concerning both area and operations), demonstrate their professionalism (that they have specially organized export-import services staffed by specialized personnel, whether they are producers or commercial agents), and that they have a verifiable financial situation (open bank account, bookkeeping, etc.). In point of fact, we intend to ensure that all the agents that have been or will be accredited receive a certificate—available to third parties—attesting their capacity to engage in foreign trade transactions and operations.

Another function of the department, which we view as very important, is to organize domestic activities. In connection with this aspect, we plan to very soon organize within the ministry centers of development of county trade and tourism, which will also employ representatives of the Foreign Trade Department. Their duty will be to assist local economic agents engaging in foreign trade with consultancy services, authorizations, or licenses, thus allowing the latter to save time, among other things.

Another function of the department is to organize and run an international system of foreign trade, as is customary in market economies. This international system will feature three domains: the first concerns the actual administration and running of the commercial policy of the state, i.e., issuing import-export licenses, utilizing subsidies, and containing contingencies; the second concerns the statistic reporting of foreign trade transactions, the purpose of which is to generate control and analysis information at

macroeconomic level on the national foreign trade, the foreign currency balance, reference prices, export and import volumes and costs, on the basis of internationally acceptable classifications; and finally, the third interface is to pass on to national economic agencies all the signals obtained by the department through its official representatives abroad or through visits abroad by its delegations. Such signals will concern business opportunities, partners' commercial regulations, market trends, price data, foreign currency rates, macroeconomic indexes, and other commercial information that we believe should be known to economic factors.

[Teodor] As far as we know, there have been arguments in Parliament concerning the department's right to issue import licenses to state economic units. What is your view in that respect?

[Pop] I have heard about that discussion and I was astonished to learn that it took place, in view of the fact that we have clear-cut options concerning the future mechanism of our national economy, namely the transition to a market economy. Once we accept the competitiveness and loyal competition specific of a market mechanism, we cannot restrain the access of economic agents to foreign trade according to the principle of the right to private or public owenership. The department will extend equal treatment to all economic agents, regardless of who has the right of ownership, i.e., there will be no privileges or discriminations. In the case you cited, import and export licenses will be issued in the order of application, according to the principle of "first come, first served."

[Teodor] At present we have a large commercial deficit. Can the department intervene to try to improve the situation? If yes, how? And if not, why not?

[Pop] The significance of the commercial deficit is subject to interpretation. If we consider simplistically only the imports and exports of goods and services, whereby some generate foreign currency outlays and others incomes, then we do have a deficit. The deficit is caused by a normal import policy in line with our present socioeconomic requirements. At the same time, unfortunately, the export potential has been neglected from the viewpoints of both securing contracts and fulfilling the contracts signed, so that in spite of foreign demands for Romanian products, we are behind in very many respects.

From a financial viewpoint, the deficit recorded in the first semester of 1990 is covered by an unprecedented mobilization of state foreign currency reserves. We must, however, remember that these reserves will run out if they are not replenished by a dynamic volume of exports. With the new functions of the department and in the absence of appropriate laws (still), efforts to restore the balance can be made only through administrative means, something that is reminiscent of a foreign trade system of which we must rid ourselves as soon as possible. In the future, when the department will have to deal only with governmental business and state orders, the foreign currency balance will be maintained through economic and commercial incentives.

[Teodor] Do you believe that foreign trade will become more efficient if it is carried out through several venues: foreign trade enterprises, economic units, and private firms? What are your arguments?

[Pop] Foreign trade efficiency was one economic category much utilized in a planned national economy. It usually referred to all activities, although it was also applied to import-export operations—incorrectly in my opinion, because at that level we can only talk at the most of financial and foreign currency profitability. The fact that foreign trade will be carried out by various agencies is an advantage because generally speaking each of these agencies will endeavor to not only recover expenses but also make a profit in order to survive.

Government Issues Statement on Gulf Crisis

AU1708134290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Statment by (?Maja Levi), head of the Press Administration of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] The Government of Yugoslavia expresses its deep concern at the further dangerous aggravation of the situation in the Gulf region arising after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

The development of events threatens to expand the conflict further, with possible unforseeable consequences in this region and beyond. It is indispensable for the international community to do everything in its power so that negotiations may begin for the purpose of eliminating the causes and consequences of the aggression, and thus prevent a further dangerous aggravation.

As the country presiding over the Nonaligned Movement, Yugoslavia once again denounces most resolutely the act of aggression and the annexation of Kuwait, which it considers null and void. It resolutely demands an urgent and unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from the territory of Kuwait, respect for its sovereignty, and the establishment of its territorial integrity which remains the only way to eliminate the crisis. It again reaffirms full support for Kuwait's legitimate government.

Yugoslavia calls on the nonaligned countries to act in a united manner along with the entire international community in order to overcome the situation that has arisen. The United Nations is obviously the proper framework for expressing international solidarity, and therefore comprehensive action is necessary to consistently implement the Security Council resolutions No. 660, 661, and 662, as well as further coordination of all other measures through this UN body, particularly because under the UN Charter it is primarily responsible for the preservation of international peace and security.

Loncar Receives Nonaligned, Kuwaiti, Iraqi Envoys

LD1708201290 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, today held a meeting with the ambassadors of all nonaligned countries accredited to our country. On this occasion Budimir Loncar briefed the representatives of nonaligned countries on Yugoslavia's involvement—as chairman of the nonaligned movement- - in overcoming the dangerous developments in the [Gulf] crisis. He also revealed Yugoslavia's intention, as chairman of the movement, to publicly present its stand on the present situation of the crisis, as well as the content of the Yugoslav Government's statement. The ambassadors of nonaligned countries expressed their support for the latest statement by the Yugoslav Government and warned of the importance and role of the movement in seeking ways to urgently resolve the crisis. Budimir Loncar received, in separate visits, the ambassadors of Iraq and Kuwait, with whom he discussed the present situation in the Gulf.

Iraqi Envoy Informed of SFRY Concern

LD1908163190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1532 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Aug (TANJUG)—Today, in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, the latest Yugoslav positions—after the receipt of the latest message from Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz to Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs—were presented to the Iraqi Ambassador 'Abd al-razzaq [name as received].

The ambassador was told on this occasion that Yugoslavia is deeply concerned by the constant and serious deterioration of the situation across the entire Gulf region following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The conviction was conveyed to him that it is vital that the international community do everything to set about negotiations for the purpose of removing the causes and consequences of aggression, and to prevent a further dangerous exacerbation of the situation. Once again it was stressed that Yugoslavia, as chair-country of the Nonaligned Movement, believes that it is vital that an all-encompassing action for the consistant implementation of Security Council Resolution 660, 661, 662 and the most recent 664, as well as the further agreement on all other measures, be conducted through the UN, especially as the Security Council is, according to the Charter, primarily responsible for the preservation of international peace and security.

During the talks, the ambassador's attention was drawn in particular to the fact that we are deeply agitated by reports of the holding of foreign citizens in the State of Kuwait and the Republic of Iraq, or rather the intention to prevent these citizens from leaving freely. Starting from the principle of humanism and international law, an appeal was made to him and the expectation was expressed that Iraq would immediately enable all foreign citizens to leave the territories of these two countries freely and in accordince with their wishes, and that in this regard it would cooperate with the envoys which the UN secretary-general has just sent to Iraq, accompanied by full respect for the latest Security Council resolution which indicates ways of overcoming the problems of foreign citizens in this region.

Support Expressed to Kuwaiti Official

LD1908175290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1644 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—Official talks began this afternoon in Belgrade between Budimir Locar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and a high-ranking guest from Kuwait, Shaykh al-Ahmad al-Sabah, deputy prime minister and foreign minister. During the

first round of talks between the two ministers and their colleagues, there was a wide-ranging exchange of views on the situation that has arisen in the wake of Iraqi aggression against Kuwait.

Shaykh al-Sabah informed the federal secretary about the background to the intervention and also to the decision of Iraq to annex Kuwait. On this occasion he assessed that this is a matter of an act that is obviously aimed at changing the geographical map of the whole region, and placing under [Iraqi] control the richest sources of oil to influence economic and political developments in the whole world. It was stressed, in particular, that his country was not only surprised, but also deeply offended, by the action of Iraq, which, for many years, Kuwait has supported and offered its understanding.

Budimir Locar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, informed his Kuwaiti colleague about the broad-based activity of Yugoslavia—also as president of the Nonaligned Movement—undertaken since the first moments of the Iraqi intervention in Kuwait. He stressed that Yugoslavia—starting from the basic principles of one's own foreign policy, as well as from the principles of nonalignment and the UN Charter—condemns the aggression of Iraq and the proclaimed annexation of Kuwait, and, in cooperation with the nonaligned countries and other international factors, is doing everything within its power to remove the consequences of these acts as soon as possible.

Shaykh al-Sabah conveyed to Budimir Loncar, and the most senior Yugoslav, leaders the tremendous gratitude of the Kuwaiti Amir and of the government and people of Kuwait as a result of these stances and the activity of Yugoslavia. The Kuwaitis attached special significance to Yugoslavia's activities, because it is a matter of the principled position of a country that is president of the Nonaligned Movement.

During the talks there was also discussion of the severe economic consequences that will affect many countries of the world—especially the less developed ones—including Yugoslavia. The two ministers agreed that, in the framework of the high degree of agreement of the international community on ways to halt the Iraqi aggression and resolve the crisis that arose in this region, it is also necessary to create new solidarity in relation to countries which will suffer the greatest damage.

It is expected that the talks between the two ministers and their colleagues will be continued tomorrow morning. It is also expected that [Foreign] Minister al-Sabah, who is in Yugoslavia also as the special envoy of the Kuwaiti Amir, will also be received by Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency.

DELO on Iraq, Nonalignment, 'Europeanization'

AU1708124590 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 16 Aug 90 p 1

[Darijan Kosir "Topic of the Day" commentary: "The Europeanization of the Nonaligned"]

[Text] With the conflict in the Gulf, Yugoslavia has found itself not only in the worst economic, but also in the worst political position so far. We have to be honest and admit that much. The policy of nonalignment and africanization which was invented and directed by the highest political leadership—and which finally brought about various "Iraqi" economic contracts—has now been completely discredited. This is so because in recent times we have only had unpleasant experiences with "our friendship" with various African and Arab dictators whose ultimate policy was that of violence. After this, there will probably be no more doubt: The only solution for Yugoslavia lies in a foreign policy directed toward Europe, where the rules of the game have been known for a long time and are also decided in advance. In a word, our "nonalignment" should be completely Europeanized.

From that point of view, the Gulf crisis is perhaps even welcome. It may also be useful because of the realization that both the Slovene Republic and the Yugoslav Federation—most probably, and to the largest extent, because of the competition between their foreign ministers—have for the first time taken real and complete care of their citizens who found themselves in the region of the Gulf conflict not of their own will. Finally, there is the encouraging fact that both sides have admitted to what extent anyone is involved in dubious dealings with dubious countries, something which we have not been accustomed to hearing. Let us remember that we still do not know precisely how "close" our country's cooperation with the former Romanian dictatorial regime was. Does this perhaps indicate that the Europeanization has to some extent already begun?

Slovene Firms' Involvement in Iraq Reported

AU1708162190 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 14 Aug 90 p 1

[Andrej Poznic report: "The Federation Is To Take Over the Iraqi Debts That Are Due"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 13 Aug—As we have already reported, only four Slovene enterprises are active in Iraq: Metalna, the Industrial Installation Enterprise, Litostroj, and the SCT Construction Enterprise. In the talks held this afternoon, these firms' representatives assured Slovene Deputy Prime Minister Mencinger that the Gulf crisis has not caused any great concern among them partly because they are used to the crisis situation from the times of Iraqi-Iranian war.

These work organizations pointed out that the damage caused by the interruption of contracts should be borne by the state, because what is involved are business

relations created on the basis of interstate agreements. They demand that the Slovene Government, that is, the delegation which is to represent Slovenia at tomorrow's meeting of the Federal Government with all Yugoslav enterprises involved in the works in Iraq and Kuwait, should make the Federation take over a part of the Iraqi debts that are already due, and the damages that will result if Yugoslavia complies with the economic boycott of Iraq proclaimed by the UN Security Council.

The government has not yet evaluated the exact damage that the Slovene economy may suffer. According to the data collected so far, the claims due total about $58 million, and the value of the new long-term contracts about $130 million. However, the latter value is not yet to be counted as a loss because it involves contracts going on until 1994, which greatly depend on the development of the crisis. As concerns the work that is going on at the moment, the enterprises involved are convinced that they will be forced to halt regardless of whether we respect the boycott or not, because all supplies of food and material have been interrupted.

The data collected most probably represent only a part of the involvement of the Slovene economy in Iraq. They apply only to those contracts that Slovene enterprises concluded directly or in cooperation with other Yugoslav or foreign enterprises, and which involve work on various projects for civilian purposes. However, at the news conference, we could not learn from the Slovene Government how large a part of the Slovene economy is involved in purchases of military equipment and arms, as well as in the construction of military facilities in Iraq, because all these are channeled through the federal Army Directorate.

Croatian Serbs' Referendum on Autonomy Begins

'100-Percent Turnout'

LD1908211890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1822 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Knin, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—Things are peaceful and dignified at the approximately 60 polling stations at which the inhabitants of the Knin region have today—the first day of the referendum—been voting on autonomy for Serbs in Croatia. Most polling stations are being guarded by armed civilian guards.

All the reports on the turnout and results of the voting are unofficial and a large number of domestic and foreign journalists are associated with Radio Knin, whose reports, however, are very meager and generalized. However, Serbian Radio Knin, as this radio station has been called of late, carried news as early as 1100 of the full, 100-percent turnout by inhabitants of the Knin region at polling stations. A large number of citizens from other parts of the country who were allowed, on showing their identity card, to vote on the creation of autonomy for Serbs in Croatia, also came to the Knin region today.

But it is almost impossible to obtain concrete and official answers to the numerous questions from journalists because at the Center for Information, the Municipal Assembly, or the Knin Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka], it was said "the peson who has the authority to provide information is not here." Journalists are expecting a news conference, but by 1900 this evening it had not been convened. The only person who showed understanding for the journalists was Jovan Raskovic.

In any event, people will sleep better in Knin tonight after two truly hellish days and nights, replete with disinformation and ominous expectations. To be sure, civil armed guards and barricades on roads continue to remain in place, despite a request by the Sibenik Secretariat for Internal Affairs that they be removed. They are the reason why today in Knin there is no gasoline because a gasoline tanker was not allowed to enter the town yesterday.

In Knin today the only unpleasantness was experienced by a Croatian Television crew led by Braco Vukovic, which was attacked on several occasions and forced to leave town in the afternoon.

Referendum Said 'Completed'

LD1908150790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1402 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Knin, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—The referendum of Serbs on autonomy in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia has already been completed today at most voting points, a representative of the central commission for the referendum said on Sunday [19 August].

The referendum will therefore probably not last until September 2, as envisaged, he added.

The situation in the Knin region (Croatia) is completely calm.

'Overwhelming' Turnout at Opening

LD1908081190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0653 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Knin, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—Voting on autonomy started in Knin at 0800 this morning. A polling station was opened in a trade union building near the former sociopolitical organization center, and due to the overwhelming turnout—the Serbian Democratic Party leadership stresses—another polling station was opened in a memorial center in the Sinobadi settlement on the outskirts of the city. Information from the Ramljane local community says that voting has already been completed and the turnout was 100 percent.

Raskovic Comments While Voting

LD1908095190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0849 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Knin, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—There was a big turnout when the Serbs in the Knin region began their voting on autonomy at 0800 this morning. In Knin itself there is a holiday atmosphere. The citizens are peacefully lining up to enter the polling stations. At about 0900 Dr. Jovan Raskovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party, appeared at the central polling station. Answering journalists' questions, he expressed satisfaction at the apparent solidarity and people's desire to come to Knin voluntarily but stressed, however, that he is against it.

"Let no one come to us, I am against any kind of war or conflict on the territory of Knin, the Croat territory inhabited by Serbs. Everything must be settled in a democratic way. If the Croat government had more understanding for a situation such as the one that has recently arisen in Knin, things would not have come to this," said Dr. Jovan Raskovic.

Violence, Troop Involvement Reported Before Vote

'Full State of Alert' Declared in Knin

LD1708161790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Knin, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—After the session of the municipal defense headquarters in the Knin municipal assembly a decision was announced at 1700 [1500 GMT] this afternoon on the proclamation of a "full state of alert". The defense headquarters decision was broadcast by Knin radio.

The situation in Knin—to use the mildest terms—is uncertain and extremely serious. A brief information from Benkovac on the disarming of the reserve police unit disturbed the citizens of Knin who were even more concerned when they heard about a telex message from Obrovac in which the Knin garrison of the Yugoslav People's Army has been called for help "because of the armored vehicles of the Internal Affairs [Secretariat] which are moving in the direction of Obrovac."

In this connection a crowd of citizens gathered outside the police station. Barricades have been set up on the approaches to Knin and all approach roads are blocked now. Only the duty shops are open in the city this afternoon and the afternoon shifts in almost all of the collectives are not working.

The police, armed with guns, can be seen throughout the city protecting all the major points.

TANJUG: People's Army Troops in Knin

LD1708183190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1721 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Knin, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—Units of the Yugoslav People's Army entered the streets in Knin this evening at 1830 [1630 GMT]. Large groups of citizens expressed obvious relief at seeing soldiers of the Yugoslav People's Army. The army took over the protection of all key points including the post office, railway station, and others.

The municipal center for information in Knin this evening announced that in Oton, some 20 kms away from Knin, in direction of Gracac, a confrontation between the local population and special units of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs occured, but the information has not been properly checked yet.

Knin radio, the main source of information for the population in Knin, issued an appeal to public to use the telephones as little as possible so that it may be used as an instrument for rapidly informing the public.

Knin is smothered with posters calling on citizens to participate in the referendum. The posters are in the form of the serbian flag, but instead of four 'S' letters they carry an invitation encircled by a yellow circle. "Solely Solidarity Saves Serbs" is written beneath that on a white field. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1730 GMT on 17 August reports that "The municipal information center in Knin this evening denied earlier reports concerning alleged clashes and shootings in the village of Oton near Knin. This information, which came from this center an hour ago, seriously disturbed the population of Knin. Having checked what really happened, the center has just announced that there have been no armed clashes."]

'Panic' Prevails; SDS Mobilizes

LD1808012290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1927 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Dvor na Uni, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—Today's events in the Knin region have also caused disquiet among the population of the municipality of Dvor na Uni. Panic prevailed among the people, and it is being contributed to by numerous unverified news reports which are circulating in the municipality.

We learned that the municipal committee of the Serbian Democratic Party, [Srpska Demokratska Stranka - SDS] has carried out the mobilization of its membership, and some time after 1700 hours citizens began to gather in front of the Dvor na Uni Municipal Assembly. They are waiting, they say, (?for the protection of) workers of the public security station in Dvor na Uni. Early this evening the movement of more and more people from the surrounding villages toward the municipal headquarters was noted, and numerous inhabitants from neighboring Bosanski Novi are also traveling to Dvor na Uni.

Guards were introduced in the villages, which indicates that in this municipality night is awaited with a great deal of uncertainty. As we report this an emergency meeting of the municipal government has begun in Dvor na Uni.

Army Commander Denies Troop Presence

LD1708204290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2019 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Knin, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—The commander of the Knin corps of the Yugoslavian People's Army, Major General Tomislv Trajcevski, this evening resolutely refuted that the army had been sent into the streets of Knin today.

"I assert in the most responsible way that the army did not go out onto the streets and that the news broadcast earlier concerning this does not correspond to the truth," he stated.

Gen. Trajcevski added that confusion among observers present in Knin could have been caused by about 200 soldiers who went off on leave. Owing to the delay of a train, they had become caught up at the train station and in its immediate vicinity, waiting for the train to depart.

Mayor Denies Declaring 'State of War'

LD1708211990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2028 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Knin, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—President of the (?communal) Assembly of Knin, in Yugoslavia's Republic of Crotia, Milan Babic this evening denied reports that earlier today he declared a state of war in the commune inhabited largely by the Serbian population.

This is a provocation of those who wish to bring anxiety and unrest among the people, pointed out Babic. He told citizens to be calm and go to work tomorrow.

It is calm in the streets of Knin this evening. Both special and reserve police units are guarding all important public buildings and facilities. There are no troops in the streets and no soldiers have left their barracks.

The main source of information for the local population, Radio Knin is broadcasting statements from the Communal Information Centre. Several of the [words indistinct] have subsequently proved wrong. Thus the centre claims that nobody today called out territorial defence units, and that their members are not in the streets.

Citizens Man Barricades; Knin 'Quiet'

LD1808092590 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] According to the latest information from Knin, approaches to the town remain blocked by barricades of stones, felled trees, and other material. At several points near the barricades armed members of the so-called civil defense force are on duty. They are armed with firearms and knives. They are checking the identity papers of all those entering the town and allowing primarily local inhabitants through. The identity checks are taking place at gunpoint and with hands raised. In the town itself it is unusually peaceful and quiet. There are fewer people on the streets than is usual for this time of day.

'Tension' as 'Civilian Sentries' on Guard

AU1808154090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Milos Rajkovic and Kosta Krajincanic report "from the Knin region"—live]

[Text] The day prior to the referendum in the Knin region is passing without incidents, but tension is obvious. The civilian Serbian sentries that guarded all the road approaches to Knin last night continue to protect vital buildings in the town. It is very difficult to obtain any information here, but Lazar Macura, vice president of the Knin Communal Assembly, has told us that the referendum will begin tomorrow as announced, and that a difficult night is ahead of us, so that civilian sentries will continue to guard the town.

There is no reason for tomorrow's referendum on autonomy to be prevented by force, Macura said. We hope that there will be no intrusion by Croatian policemen, because if one head falls, many more will follow immediately afterwards, Macura stressed.

Thousands of telegrams are arriving in Knin from many places across the country. The People's Party of Montenegro thus states: We believe it to be our moral, national, and historic obligation to stand on the side of the Serbs in Croatia if they are subjected to physical attacks during the announced referendum.

Words of support have also been sent by the Serbian Democratic Party committees in Vlasenica and Sekovici, by political bodies of Titovo Uzice, and many individuals. Let us repeat: According to the decision by the Serbian National Council the day before yesterday, the referendum on Serbian autonomy will begin tomorrow and will last until 2 September, in all corners of Croatia where Serbs live. The right to take part belongs to all the Serbs with Croatian citizenship above the age of 18.

It is not stated what kind of autonomy is involved. Obviously everything depends on the future structure of Yugoslavia. If it is a federation, the demand will involve a cultural autonomy, but in the case of a confederal system, full political autonomy will be demanded.

After yesterday's announcement by Stipe Mesic, president of the Croatian Government, that he will send armored units of the Internal Security Service to the Knin region, citizens in Knin and some other places of the region came out in the streets at their own initiative, and there were short traffic stoppages. The situation was quickly normalized, but citizens continue to control the entry and exit of vehicles. In this connection, the Knin Center for Information at once sent a message to Stipe Mesic appealing to the Croatian Government not to provoke citizens any more.

Half an hour ago, Milan Babic, president of the Knin Communal Assembly, addressed Radio Knin listeners with the following message: We are conducting negotiations with the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia so

that special militia units may not attack Knin. I appeal to all the citizens of Knin who are in the streets to allow vehicles to pass unhindered, of course with precautionary measures. President Babic explained that the negotiations with the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia are conducted over the telephone.

A session of the Executive Council of the Knin Communal Assembly is under way. Milko Popovic, president of the Executive Council, has responded to our request to make a statement on the present situation in the town and has used the opportunity to air an appeal over Radio Belgrade to the ethnic Serbs in the Knin region not to be taken in by provocations.

[Begin recording] [Popovic] The situation is normalizing. However, the Communal Assembly and the leadership in Knin appeal to the people to be calm, but also very cautious. We believe that provocations do exist and therefore we appeal to the people of Knin not to be taken in by provocations and not to be the ones to start a clash.

[Krajincanic] In connection with the referendum itself, what do you think, how will it be tomorrow?

[Popovic] The Communal Assembly and its organs do not conduct the referendum; it is conducted by the National Council set up in Srb. Therefore the National Council and a commission of the National Council and of the Serbian Democratic Party are the initiators and they conduct the referendum.

[Krajincanic] Can you perhaps say something about the general feeling among the people?

[Popovic] Well, I think that the feeling among the people, and especially after these events yesterday, is absolutely in favor. We all (?will vote in favor). [end recording]

And here is the latest report: It is expected that Josip Boljkovac, minister of internal affairs of Croatia, will come to Knin in the course of the afternoon.

Sloven Radio: TANJUG 'Did Not Exaggerate'

AU1808155890 Ljbuljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] TANJUG this morning did not exaggerate when it reported on the events in and around Knin, but only carried a single report saying that Knin was quiet. Our reporter Peter Damjanic, who otherwise works for Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK, reported this morning that the situation in Knin was indeed quiet, but extremely tense.

Even greater tension is felt on the roads leading to Knin and in the surrounding villages. Barricades are still erected on the roads, and they are guarded by armed citizens of the area.

Cars, Train Intercepted Near Knin

LD1908184890 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] The illegitimate referendum on Serbian autonomy in Croatia is being accompanied by illegitimate actions by individuals and groups of Serbian nationality, who in the Knin area, are intercepting cars and trains. This morning a train en route between Split and Knin, departure time 0718, was stopped at the Kosovo station near Knin. According to the railway officer on duty and the Split railway station, seven armed civilians searched the train and seized one individual who they said was a photojournalist who had taken photos of the sentries at the barricades. Afterward, the train moved off without this person who was taken off the train. The identity of this individual is unknown.

Many italian tourists who have been returning from the coast via Knin or Obrovac encountered armed civilians. After returning to the coast they explicitly said they had been stopped and insulted by thugs on the road. A serious incident happened to a group of Italians on their return from the Krka waterfalls. A group of armed teenagers stopped them, demanded their personal identity papers, and called them fascists.

Official Statements Issued on Situation in Knin

Army: Helicopters 'Outside' Route

AU1808135990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Statement by Vuk Obradovic, official press spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, on events in Knin region; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] In connection with the latest events in the Republic of Croatia, several untrue and tendentious reports concerning the Yugoslav People's Army have been published. The statements made by leaders of the Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman and Stipe Mesic, that Air Force planes intercepted three helicopters of the Ministry for Interior Affairs of Croatia and forced them to land at Lucko airfield, are untrue. The helicopters flew outside their announced and approved route, and the flight control, acting according to regulations, requested them to discontinue their flight and to return to their starting airfield.

It is a gross insinuation and manipulation to state that the Army is involved in any way in the alleged scenario to destabilize the situation in Croatia. Appropriations of the Army by self-styled national leaders, such as Jovan Raskovic and others like him, are also inadmissible, and so are manipulations in connection with the possible involvement of the Army.

The Army unswayingly follows the policy of brotherhood and unity and its function and responsibility determined by the SFRY Constitution. The respective commands

and staffs of the Armed Forces are taking resolute measures against individuals of the Army Reserves who, on their own initiative, don military uniforms which they possess and misuse them. The strictest legal measures will also be taken in other cases of possible willful conduct of individual members of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Territorial Defense.

The Federal Secretariat for National Defense notes that various rumors and case of disinformation have become more frequent; they are launched in a very organized fashion and are undoubtedly intended to provoke and to compromise the Army's position with the people. The situation which is fraught with conflict and extremely dangerous by its consequences can and must be overcome by fully respecting the SFRY Constitution, which means in a democratic way, and not following a model imposed by Ustasha, Chetnik, and other nationalist and anti-Yugoslav forces.

The Federal Secretariat for National Defense stresses on this occasion once again that the Yugoslav People's Army has the task, among other things, to prevent fratricidal war in any part of Yugoslavia. The Army will carry out this task unconditionally, in the way laid down by the SFRY Constitution and the federal law on all-people's defense.

Defense Secretariat Denies Role

LD1808171690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—It is a crude insinuation and manipulation to say that the Army was in any way involved in the ostensible scenario of the destabilization of the situation in Croatia, says a statement made today by Colonel Dr. Vuk Obradovic, a representative of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense for Public Information. The statement reads:

"In connection with the latest events in the Republic of Croatia, several pieces of inaccurate and tendentious information about the Yugoslav People's Army have been published.

"Statements by Croatian leaders Franjo Tudjman and Stipe Mesic that Air Force planes intercepted three helicopters of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs (MUP) and forced them to land at Lucko Airport (in Zagreb) are not correct. The helicopters were flying without regard to the announced and approved route, so flight controllers, acting in accordance with the regulations, obliged the termination of the flights and a return to the airport of departure.

"It is a crude insinuation and manipulation to say that the Army was in any way involved in the ostensible scenario of the destabilization of the situation in Croatia. Likewise impermissible is the usurpation of the Army by self-styled national leaders such as Jovan Raskovic and people like him, and manipulation in connection with its possible involvement. The Army is unswervingly following the policy of brotherhood and unity and its function and responsibility as set out in the SFRY Constitution.

"The competent commands and headquarters of the Armed Forces are undertaking decisive measures against individuals from among reservists who are arbitrarily putting on and misusing the military uniforms available to them. The severest legal measures will also be taken in other cases of the possible arbitrary behavior of individual members of the Yugoslav People's Army and Territorial Defense.

"The Federal Secretariat for National Defense points out that the more frequent and varied rumors and disinformation, which are being purveyed in a very organized manner, are without doubt calculated to provoke and compromise the Army and set it against the people.

"The very conflict-ridden and, in terms of its possible consequences, extremely dangerous situation, can and must be overcome only accompanied by full respect for the SFRY Constitution. This means in a democratic way, and not in accordance with models imposed by Ustasha, Chetnik, and other nationalistic and anti-Yugoslav forces.

"The Federal Secretariat for National Defense stresses on this occasion too that the Yugoslav People's Army has the task, among other things, of preventing a fratricidal war in any part of Yugoslavia. The army will carry out this task unconditionally as stipulated in the SFRY Constitution and the federal law on all-people's defense."

Croat Government: Things 'Under Control'

LD1808122290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1004 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—The emergency situation which arose yesterday in certain municipalities of northern Dalmatia and Lika is under control. The situation has improved but the events could have had much more serious consequences, concluded an extraordinary joint session of the Croatian Government and the Croatian Assembnly Presidency today. They examined the latest situation and proposed measures.

The latest events which occured in connection with the referendum on the so-called autonomy of Serbs in Croatia were monitored. Riots had been expected and we were not surprises, Minister for Internal Affairs Josip Boljkovac said. He repeated the position that "everything is taking place according to a scenario which was created in this republic to destabilize and topple the legally elected democratic government in Croatia." He informed us that weapons were distributed illegally to reservists in Knin, a police station in Gracac was attacked, and roads were blocked and armed guards were stationed in the Obrovac and Benkovac municipalities.

It was proposed that all those who thwarted the normal activities of competent municipal and republican bodies should be held responsible.

We have informed competent federal and other bodies, including the international and domestic public, about everything Prime Minister Stipe Mesic said, underlining that everything will be done to protect the normal functions of a law-governed state and Croatian sovereignty.

People living in these regions are agitated. A proposal was made that the Croatian Government should address citizens in order to ease tension.

"People living in these areas, Croats, but also Serbs and others, are captives of a rebellion and are exposed to direct terror by armed groups who arbitrarily want to take over the government," Dr. Zarko Domljan, the Assembly president, said.

It was concluded that the world should be informed about the latest events in great detail.

The joint session of the Croatian Government and the Assembly Presidency adopted the government's measures to deal with the latest situation. The Croatian Presidency will express its position later today.

Croatian Government Meets in 'Emergency' Session

LD1808131190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1146 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—The Information Ministry of the Republic of Croatia has sent a special report on today's emergency joint session of the Assembly Presidency and the Croatian Presidency in connection with the events in the municipalities of Knin, Obrovac, Benkovac, and Gracac, and on the measures of the republican government aimed at restoring order and peace. Journalists were also present at the session.

The report stresses: "Despite persistant efforts, the president of the Croatian government did not succeed yesterday and last night in talking to either the president of the Yugoslav Presidency, or the president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], or the federal secretary for national defense. The chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army has informed President Mesic that the interception of Croatian Interior Ministry helicopters was called for by the regional flight control authorities, and that the Army will not intervene, provided there are no casualties."

The report particularly cites that the vice-president of the FEC, Aleksandar Mitrovic, offered the Croatian government the dispatch of a combined detachment of Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs militia to the threatened region, but that this offer was expressly declined by the inner circles of the government, because it "recognized in it similarity with the approach tried in Kosovo."

Josip Boljkovac, minister of internal affairs, stressed that the Ministry of Information submitted a report on the development of the situation yesterday evening and last night.

"The ministry has issued instructions for the return of the weapons confiscated from the police station in Knin with which the reserve police unit was armed, as well as for the unblocking of all roads. Ministry forces have been acting in this direction. In the view of Minister Buljkovac, it is important to prevent the announced arrival of so-called voluntary units from Pazova and elsewhere in Serbia, Vojvodina, and Montenegro. Political and state leaders of the federation and republics have promised to prevent the arrival of these agitators. The ministry is taking all necessary precautionary measures within its jurisdiction. Boljkovac then drew attention to the important fact that Serbian policemen in the four abovementioned municipalities acted in keeping with the law and did not give in to crude pressure from the leadership of the Serbian Democratic Party," we read in the report.

Special emphasis is laid on the assessment of Croat Assembly President Zarko Domljan, according to which it is a question of "armed uprising against the Croat state, which must be protected by all legally avialable means."

At the end of the report, we read that the Croat Assembly Presidium and the Croat Government agree that the Serbian Democratic party departed from its program of political activity and placed itself at the service of forces outside Croatia wishing to threaten the democratic and legally elected power in Croatia. "For this reason department ministries have received instructions to examine legal ways of banning the party's activity."

The government, the report concludes, will propose to the Croat Presidency a program of measures to protect the constitutional system, and a report by the Presidency on this subject is expected in the course of the day.

Statement Issued on Knin Events

LD1808201390 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] The Presidency of the Republic of Croatia, chaired by Franjo Tudjman, in cooperation with the leadership of the Croatian Government and Assembly, considered this afternoon the political and security situation in Croatia, in the wake of attempts at organizing and carrying out the referendum on Serbian autonomy in Croatia. We begin tonight's news bulletin with the statement from this session:

The Presidency of the Republic assesses that the sequence and the nature of the events demonstrate that this is not a form of any sort of democratic political struggle whatsoever; rather, an attempt to carry out the well-known scenario, drawn up on an earlier occasion,

for destabilizing and toppling the legally and democratically elected authorities in Croatia—the one that has now assumed the form of an openly armed rebellion.

The aims of the scenario were to bring about general confusion and a feeling of total insecurity among the Croatian population; to incite unrest, terrorism, and eventually a state coup, and to install a state of emergency in Croatia. The elements of local military support, as well as the elements of general military support, took part in carrying out this scenario. This was proved by the interception of three helicopters of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia by the Air Force of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army.

The attempt to topple the democratic Croatian authorities was also aided by a certain set of circumstances which were taken into account by the authors of the scenario—the ones outside Croatia. In view of these circumstances the presidency considered the following:

The outbreak of war in the Gulf, then the Knin town council, who was to ambush the new off-guard Croatian authorities, and finally the public stand of the Presidency of the Republic of Croatia on completing the process of drawing up the confederal agreement; this agreement would facilitate a peaceful and democratic resolution of the constitutional and political crisis in Yugoslavia on the basis of agreement with the Presidency of Yugoslavia and the other republics. [sentence as heard]

The Presidency of the Republic of Croatia finds it significant that the implementation of this anti-Croatian and anti-democratic scenario has been taken over by the leadership of the Serbian Democratic Party and the Knin municipality, who, just like the Cetnik movement from this area, find even the idea of a sovereign Croatian state inconcievable.

Analyzing the administrative and political measures taken so far to stabilize the situation and restore order and peace among the population of Croatia, the Presidency has assessed, in positive terms, all the moves undertaken by the Croatian Government; thus obligating it to persevere, with a great deal of political wisdom, responsibly and resolutely, in preventing all attempts at threatening the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia and the peaceful and tolerant coexistence of the Serbs and Croats in Croatia and the Serbian and Croatian people in general.

The presidency also finds that the distressing events have already caused a great deal of economic and political damage to the international community.

In view of this, the Presidency proclaims the following conclusions:

1. The Croatian Government should continue to start all legal procedures which will secure, as soon as possible, the regular functioning of all the institutions of law-governed state and civil society across the whole territory of the Republic.

2. The Presidency of Yugoslavia is to be required a detailed report on the role and responsibility of some officers of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army for taking part in creating an atmosphere of insurrection, and, particularly, for preventing the legal organs of order of the Republic of Croatia from their securing the legality of public peace and order in the municipalities where it was jeopardized.

3. The Presidency of Yugoslavia and the Federal Executive Council are to be required to publicly articulate their stands to the distressing events in Croatia, and to ensure, by their further actions, respect for the constitutional order in the entire country. Furthermore, for the resolving of the Yugoslav crisis without violence, while respecting the particular sovereignty of all the Yugoslav republics. In particular, it is demanded that the necessary moves are taken at preventing the organizing and sending of Cetnik groups and emissaries from Serbia and other parts of country. This brings in unrest, threats, hatred, and violence to Croatia.

4. The Presidency of the Republic of Croatia draws attention to the fact that any further hesitation or vagueness on the part of the Yugoslav Presidency and Government towards these and similar events and tendencies hampers, and even obstructs, the possibility of a democratic agreement on the future establishment of relations between the Yugoslav peoples and republics.

5. The Presidency of Croatia assesses that the awareness about the failure of the scenario for a state of emergency in Croatia is beginning to creep in among its authors. This is suggested by today's statements given by the organizers of the referendum and rebellion in favor of stabilizing and restoring the initial situation.

6. The Assembly of the Republic of Croatia is suggested to hold an extraordinary session on Thursday, 23 August 1990. The Presidency also express satisfaction at receiving the public support of the leadership of the Republic of Slovenia and of a great number of citizens and institutions from Croatia, Yugoslavia, and abroad. The Presidency of the Republic of Croatia and President of the Republic Franjo Tudjman, personally, call on everyone and all Croatia's citizens to preserve their trust in the strength and resolve of the young Croatian democracy and Croatian authorities, and to cherish peace, reason, and tolerance.

Peaceful civil coexistence between the Croats, the Serbs living in Croatia, and the Croatian Republic's other nations and minorities is a noble aim to which the leadership of Croatia aspires; it will have the knowledge and the strength to reach this goal.

Ministry Report on Disturbances

LD1708170190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—According to a report by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Government of the Republic of Croatia, today, 17 August, several hundred citizens of Serbian nationality gathered outside the police station in Gracac. The citizens gathered there—according to the report of the Ministry of Information of the Republic of Croatia—threw stones at the building, declined civilized talks with the head of the station, and eventually broke into the building.

At the same time in Obrovac and Benkovac large groups of citizens took to the streets, obstructing and stopping traffic.

A statement from a closed session of the Government of the Republic of Croatia, issued tonight, reports that two MIG-type military aircraft intercepted three helicopters of the Ministry of the Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia over Lika, sent to the spot to restore order and peace, and forced them to retreat to their base.

The Croatian Government's view is that these events are proceeding according to a well-know plan, drawn up outside Croatia, intended to topple the democratic authorities in Croatia. The Croatian Government and the authorities in Croatia have enough strength to restore order and peace and to establish all of the Croatian state's authority, the statement says. Finally, the Croatian Government calls on all citizens who have found themselves in excessive situations to disperse peaceably and go home.

Raskovic To Ask for Federal 'Intervention'

AU1808170490 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 18 Aug 90

["Excerpt" of statement by Jovan Raskovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party, to Koper Television in Koper on 18 August—recorded in Serbo-Croatian]

[Text] In an earlier interview, I said that we could perhaps call the Army to help us, perhaps—but those people made a great fuss about it and they presented a great lie to the Croatian folk, the Croatian people, through their press, making it out that I have called in the Army. Even under these circumstances, I neither call in the Army nor intend to call in the Army, but if I call anybody to help, this will be the SFRY Presidency, because it is certain that a people is endangered in Croatia now and that we must ask the SFRY Presidency to help.

One cannot send tanks against the people, people who perhaps are armed with a hunting gun or some keepsake weapons from the war, primarily pistols, people who demand political decisions, and one cannot send the army or the special police against such people. This, in fact, is a declaration of war against a people.

To declare war against a people in Yugoslavia is to declare war against Yugoslavia. Therefore, we will demand intervention by the federal organs. The shape this intervention will take is up to them.

In fact, we would wish all this to pass quite normally, to pass in an orderly fashion, so that there will be no clashes. But we cannot refuse Serbs who want to help us. We are not in favor of any form of help whatever, but we are in favor of such forms of help by the rest of the Serbian people. The Serbian people are united, they have demonstrated this. We, the Serbian Democratic Party, have in fact contributed to the unity of the Serbian people and the establishment of unity of the Serbia people, and the present mental disposition of the Serbia people wherever in Yugoslavia they may live is that the attack on any Serb anywhere in Yugoslavia is an attack on the entire Serbian people

Interior Ministry Issues Order on Return of Arms

LD1808162490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1522 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—The Interior Ministry of Croatia has ordered the return of arms taken from the local police station in Knin, Northern Dalmatia, and the lifting of a blockade of all roads in the area, the Information Ministry of this Yugoslav Republic stated on Saturday [18 August].

The situation in Knin and several other communes in the region with the majority Serbian population began to complicate yesterday, after the reserve police force in a number of towns had been disarmed by special republican police units. The developments occurred prior to a scheduled plebiscite on the cultural autonomy of Serbs in Croatia, which the new Croatian authorities want to prevent.

The statement says that Croatian Interior Minister Josip Boljkovac has stressed the fact that policemen of Serbian nationality in the communes of Knin, Obrovac, Benkovac and Gracac "acted in accordance with the law and did not yield to gross pressure from the Serbian Democratic Party." The party rallies Serbs in the Republic of Croatia.

The statement claims that Federal Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandar Mitrovic has offered to send a combined federal police force to the threatened area, adding that the offer was explicitly rejected by the Croatian Government.

Jovic Says Presidency 'Will Prevent Clashes'

AU1808171790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Statement by Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, to Belgrade Radio and Television; read by unidentified announcer; place and date not given]

[Text] The SFRY Presidency and other respective organs of the federation are keeping constant track of the events in connection with the current political situation in the country. I wish to inform the public that the SFRY Presidency will not allow the course of events in the country to assume forms and proportions that would endanger the lives of citizens, but by using all its constitutional and legal rights and responsibility it will prevent clashes, bloodshed, or civil war.

All the organs in the republics and communes are obliged to act in such a manner so as to avoid conflict and that political problems are solved in a democratic way. One cannot question the right of citizens or of a people to declare themselves politically. Any denial of these rights would be in conflict with the nature of the political or democratic relations which we are building.

Federal Government Session Discusses Croatia

LD2008015290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2238 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—The current political situation in Yugoslavia is being discussed at a session of the federal government which started this afternoon.

Attention focuses on the developments in Yugoslavia's Republic of Croatia. Reports on it were submitted by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the Federal Secretariat for National Defence and other competent organs.

The session continues.

TANJUG 'Expresses Regret' Over Knin Reports

LD1808163690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—TANJUG's reporter yesterday sent us the news that "the army is on the streets of Knin" without adequately verifying that story which was transmitted by the TANJUG network on the strength of the fact that it drew upon the official sources and the reporter's own visual observance of individuals wearing military uniforms on the streets.

The reporter sent the denial immediately after he was able to access the official source of information directly—that is, 90 minutes after the news was transmitted.

The TANJUG Bureau for Croatia expresses regret that its journalist reacted unprofessionally. According to the facts established so far, the news was transmitted from Knin following the general confusion and the whirlwind of misinformation which was being disseminated throughout yesterday morning via the only official source of information accessible to journalists, the center for information in Knin—that is Knin Radio.

Our journalist has been withdrawn from Knin to Zagreb today and replaced by a new one. A light will be cast, in cooperation with him, on all the other circumstances under which his information was obtained as the degree of his possible personal responsibility will be established.

TANJUG and its bureau for Croatia regrets this event, nevertheless it cannot accept the views that it acted consciously along the lines of the scenario for destabilizing the Republic of Croatia and democracy.

Pre-Referendum Atmosphere, Prospects Reported

Mesic: Serbs, Croats 'Equally Worried'

LD1708205190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1915 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—Stipe Mesic, president of the Republic of Croatia, stated this evening on the nightly Croatian television news program that both Serbs and Croats are equally worried—and with good reason—about the situation which has been created in the region of Knin and other parts of Croatia.

Replying to a question on the heralded arrival of volunteers from Kosovo Polje and Nova Pazova, or rather from Serbia, in the Knin region, Mesic replied: "Your question also portends the answer"—"everything has been fixed in advance and all this has been stage-managed, everything was known in advance and all this was organized." [punctuation as received]

"It has been organized," Mesic added "so as to halt democracy in Croatia and probably in Slovenia as well. However, we came to power by democratic means, the law-governed state will function, and we will resolve the matter in the most legal way possible."

To the question of whether he has been in contact with the federal organs and the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, Mesic replied that he personally has held talks with General Adzic in connection with the "MIGs" which intercepted three helicopters of the Ministry of Internal Affairs above Lika. The general said that the helicopters were stopped because they were not taking the correct route and for no other reason.

At the same time, Mesic went on, I was also in contact with representatives of the federal organs and the Federal Executive Council [FEC] Vice President Zivko Pregl who is currently acting president of the FEC. He asked me to inform him about everything which is happening and I informed him of this. I also informed Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and we have informed all federal organs as well as the domestic and foreign public.

Replying to a question about the army coming going into the streets and that the president of the Knin Municipal Assembly has declared a state of war, Mesic said:

"Milan Babic, president of the Municipal Assembly, is probably joking or is a big joker and I do not know that

he can declare a state of war. Those who have been giving him instructions probably know why this has been done."

"I believe that responsible people in the federation, too, ought to know who is orchestrating the events going on in Croatia right now. They, too, must know that we will defend Croatia by all legal means. And if someone might want to come into Croatia to set things right, the whole of Croatia would be on their feet within an hour," Mesic said at the end of his interview on Croatian TV.

Tudjman: 'Chaos' Move 'To Topple'

LD1708222390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2027 GMT 17 Aug 90

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Zagreb, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman, who is currently on an official visit to Split, addressed the public during tonight's Croatian television newcast shorty after 2200 [2000 GMT]; he made the following statement:

"Today's events, taking place in three municipalities—Benkovac, Knin, and Gracac—did not surprise us. We knew about the scenario for staging chaos in Croatia. This chaos aims to topple the democratic authorities in Croatia and in Slovenia, too, and divert the attention of the Yugoslav and world public from what is happening in the eastern part of the country and to prove that democracy is an alleged threat to civil peace.

Today, Tudjman added, I have spoken twice with President of the SFRY Presidency Mr. Borisav Jovic. I acquainted him with the fact that rumors were being spread that the Army was already on the move. Apart from this I informed him that two military fighters had intercepted the helicopters of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, thus preventing the organs of internal affairs in Croatia from carrying out their regular duty of securing peace because the crowd in Gracac had broken in the municipal building and obstructed the work of the regular organs of internal affairs," Tudjman said.

"Mr. Jovic informed me in the second conversation that the Army did not obtain any order to mobilize and that the general who stated that the Army would intervene, if one were to fall victim in Croatia, had no authority to say this and I take this as if it had not been said. However, despite this, both Radio Knin and TANJUG said, first of all, that the Army is on the streets of Knin and that it is ostensibly fraternizing with the people and that the president of the Knin Assembly has declared a state of war. But a little while later TANJUG itself denied this. This means that the events which are taking place in Croatia are not quite happening in accordance with the (planned) scenario.

Probably, according to the first scenario the Army was supposed to appear, and likewise it probably was to have declared this state of emergency in order for there to be justification for the Army to come in, but then they realized that this was far too insane and that this would lead to the abyss of civil war, and not only civil war, but this would be the definitive breakdown of the life of both the Croatian and the Serbian people in Croatia, and not only in Croatia but also in Yugoslavia and, therefore, also (this would be) the end of Yugoslavia.

As a result of this, it appears that the conclusion should be drawn that, nevertheless, in the ranks of those trying to stage- manage (this affair) some sort of reason prevails. From this place and in connection with these events I call on the Croatian people to preserve peace and not to be agitated.

"I call on people from the ranks of the Serbian population in Croatia to listen to the voice of those rational people among them who addressed me over the past few days and stated that they themselves wish to make a public statement and call on all Serbs in Croatia not to be taken in by provocateurs and those who incite them, from outside Croatia, to some kind of referendum and some kind of uprisings, because there is no reason for this, because the new democratic authorities of Croatia have guaranteed to them all those rights which can be guaranteed at all—both civil and national rights which hitherto they have not had at all to such an extent.

Thus there is no reason to justify any kind of mobilization or any kind of agitation of the Serbian population, though the Croatian population can be agitated by such a movement of the Serbian population, but I call on them (to preserve) peace and dignity, and may they have full confidence in the new Croatian authorities. We will have both sufficient legal means and possibilities for preventing the confusion which some of these extremist elements and some Chetnik emissaries from other regions outside Croatia are trying to provoke. Let them wait peacefully for the further decisions of their Croatian government and of their Croatian leadership.

I believe that we shall succeed, together with the Yugoslav presidency, in finding solutions and in preventing those who are causing disturbances outside Croatia and in Croatia and (in preventing) the worst from coming about. I am convinced that we shall succeed in this and that peace in Croatia will be preserved. And likewise on this occasion, too, I stress that the Croatian leadership is resolute, together with the whole of the Croatian people, to defend the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia," Dr. Franjo Tudjman said at the end of his statement.

Ministry on Journalists' Complaints

LD1808040190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2333 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—In connection with frequent complaints by the press, radio and TV reporters who claim they have been prevented from performing their professional duties and even exposed to manhandling in Knin and other communes, the Ministry of Information of Croatia this evening asked all communes

and communal bodies in this Yugoslav republic to abide by the regulations of the public information act.

Newsmen, photoreporters and cameramen of all newspapers, radio and TV stations must be enabled to work normally, so that the public at home and abroad may be truly and timely informed about developments, the ministry's statement said.

Croat Government: No Basis for Referendum

LD1708204490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1350 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—The members of the government of the Republic of Croatia were acquainted today with measures taken by the relevant ministries in connection with holding the referendum on the so-called autonomy of the Serbs in Croatia. It was observed that nowhere is there any legal basis for it taking place.

Vice President Dr. Milan Ramljak spoke in greater detail about the course of events and the actual scenario in preparations for holding the referendum. He noted the lack of information available—both to members of the government and to the actual citizens who are being called to the referendum—on what it hopes to achieve. Nowhere in the world has there been a case of a referendum lasting so long (two weeks according to announcements); rather, it is normally one day. There was also mention of unacceptable articles in the Belgrade press, which, it was stressed, are daily finding new "pearls" to justify the referendum, among the latest of which is that there will not be classic voting ballots.

In the debate, in which President Stipe Mesic and republican Minister for Internal Affairs Josip Boljkovac also took part, it was reiterated that the scenario for the referendum was being drawn up in Belgrade and that it was being "led by Slobodan Milosevic." The visit of the Knin delegation to President Jovic was itself, it was said, more a visit to Milosevic to seek further instructions from him.

"There is no question of a threat to the Serbs in Croatia. It is a case of a threat to the anti-bureaucratic revolution [antibirokratska revolucija], and in particular to the Bol'shevik-communist team which has experienced and is experiencing defeat on all fronts. In order to obscure the terrorism in Kosovo, it is necessary to divert attention to Croatia. It is necessary to create a greater Serbia, even at the cost of sacrificing Serbs in Croatia," Stipe Mesic said among other things, noting that a law-governed state has been formed in Croatia and that no one will hold back democracy here.

"We will not be the first to use force, but we will, if necessary, defend the constitutional order of the Republic," Josip Boljkovac stressed. Despite the tense situation, there is not undue cause for concern. We have confidence in the Yugoslav People's Army. According to the latest scenario, it is a question of voting on the cultural, and not political, autonomy of the Serbs, although this has long since been established under the Constitution and is guaranteed for all Serbs and other nations and nationalities in the Republic, Boljkovac said.

In conclusion, the belief was expressed that despite the tension and disquiet in connection with the referendum, reason will prevail.

Croatia's Racan Criticizes Jovic, Army

AU1908154390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Vesna Knezevic report]

[Excerpts] The organs of the republican authorities of Croatia have not held any meetings in Zagreb today. There have been no new statements from the upper part of the city. Perhaps later somebody may react to the statement made yesterday by Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency. The reaction may be come in the form of some official's personal view rather than an official statement.

The only person who said something about Jovic's statement was the leader of the main opposition party, the Party of Democratic Changes, Ivica Racan, who made a statement for SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Split. He sharply criticized President Jovic for the statement he made yesterday. He also criticizes the Army for not making its position toward the latest events in Croatia sufficiently clear. [passage omitted]

The commentary by Hido Biscevic, chief and responsible editor of VJESNIK, states that all preparations for the referendum were deliberately left unclear, because the purpose was not to hold a referendum, but to provoke an extraordinary situation.

The Zagreb Radio commentator openly questions the role of the Army in the events of the last two days.

Also, from the contact between TANJUG and its Croatia correspondent, the one who sent the news about the presence of troops in the streets of Knin last Friday [17 August], it appears that in addition to the undeniable mistake by the correspondent, there was something else, namely that the Army might have tried to do something. VJESNIK's commentary calls this the putschist ambitions by a section of the military cadre.

Croatian Television carries a statement by Jovan Raskovic, who is in fact sending a message to the Croatian authorities inviting them for talks. Whatever Mr. Tudjman and I may think about each other, Raskovic says, it is the time for an agreement. [passage omitted]

Today has been an ordinary Sunday. However, there have been some small incidents. During the night, the signs at the offices of BORBA and VECERNJE NOVOSTI were broken. The same thing happened to information board on the entrance to the Orthodox Church in the Cvetni Trg. [passage omitted]

Tudjman's Life Threatened at Nova Pazova Meeting

AU1708190390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] [Announcer] Our reporter, Mirjana Trajkovic, is in Nova Pazova, where a meeting of citizens is under way which has been organized by the Serbian National Renewal Movement [Srpska Narodna Obnova]. Let us hear what our colleague has to report:

[Trajkovic] The scenario is familiar: The atmosphere is explosive. Those present in Nova Pazova have on several occasions chanted: We want arms and we will kill Tudjman. This occurred following a report from a representative of the Serbian Democratic Party from Knin that Tudjman's guard had entered Benkovac tonight, and that there was shooting in Obrovac.

The meeting began with a choir singing the song [words indistinct], the old Serbian anthem, God of Justice, being played, and cries of Serbia, Serbia.

Srbislav Knezevic, secretary of the Serbian National Renewal, was the first to speak. He promised aid to the brothers in the Serbian Krajina because, as he put it, the danger threatens the Serbian people becoming a national minority in the illegitimate states of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia. Interrupted by cries of "Death to the Ustashas" and "Long live the Karadjordjevic dynasty," Knezevic stressed that there can no longer be a conspiracy against the Serbian people, and no one should provoke and check the Serbs' willingness to defend themselves.

After being welcomed with tumultuous applause, Dusan Zelenbaba, vice president of the Serbian Democratic Party, first of all expressed thanks for the support that had been expressed and informed those present that Jovan Raskovic could not come to the meeting because of the situation that had arisen in the Knin Krajina.

The meeting continues as I speak.

Croatian Parties Invited To Hold Meeting

AU1908192890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] [Announcer] The situation in Croatia remains tense. The question of the Serbs' referendum on cultural autonomy in the republic is still open. The referendum has been held today, although the Croatian authorities have practically banned it. Here is a report from Zagreb by Vesna Knezevic:

[Knezevic] The Zagreb city government has informed its citizens that it has comprehensive information about the political situation and security in the republic and that, on the basis of that information, there is no reason for citizens to be alarmed.

Ivica Racan, leader of the Party of Democratic Changes, today praised the Croatian authorities for its sensible moves. Drazen Budisa, leader of the Liberal Party, publicly invited the leaderships of all political parties in Croatia to hold a joint meeting in Zagreb on Tuesday [21 August]. The idea behind this is to adopt a joint statement on the defense of Croatia's territorial integrity, sovereignty, and the equality and freedom of all citizens of Croatia.

The Zagreb branch of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative and the League of Social Democrats have issued a fairly dramatic statement to the citizens of Croatia. [Word indistinct] and Yugoslavia are coming closer and closer to the point of dangerous clashes, the statement says.

The two leading parties in Croatia, the Croatian Democratic Community and the Serbian Democratic Party, are accusing each other of advocating Chetnik and Ustasha policies, respectively. Both parties interpret democratic processes in Croatia in a biased way. The Croatian Democratic Community is presenting its election victory as the expression of the plebiscite of the Croatian nation. The Serbian Democratic Party is supporting it in this belief because it, itself, acts as if it had the plebiscitary support of the Serbian nation in Croatia. In this way, both parties are pushing the Croatian and Serbian people, and all citizens of Croatia and Yugoslavia, to the forecourt of a civil war and military intervention.

We consider senseless the (?sharp) reaction concerning the referendum that has been refuted from every legal point of view in advance, the referendum that obviously represents a welcome opportunity to both sides to strain their relations. The life of an individual has an absolute value that cannot be replaced with any other political value. Only on the basis of this could the democratic system become possible. This was stated in a communique signed by Zarko Puhovski and Milorad Pupovac.

Regarding the media, the Croatian radio broadcast an alarming piece of news: The train that left for Knin this morning at 0718 [0518 GMT] from Split was stopped in the Kosovo station. A group of armed civilians searched the train and dragged a person they said was a reporter who had taken pictures of guards behind their barricades. The train proceeded without that person, whose identity has not yet been established. The report was confirmed by the duty railroad officer of the Split railroad station.

The reporters of Rijeka NOVI LIST, Goran Zelic and Silvano Jezina, managed to enter Knin in their second attempt. According to the report they sent to their newspaper and Radio Rijeka, the streets in Knin are guarded by well-armed individuals. They have the most modern machine guns.

Italian tourists complained that, on their journey through Knin and Obrovac, they were stopped by armed civilians.

Radio Split reported that, on their way from the Krka waterfalls, a group of Italians was stopped by group of armed youngsters, asked for identity cards, and called fascists.

Croatian Communist Leader on Knin Events

LD1908213690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2044 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Split, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—In a statement to the public broadcast by Croatian radio, leader of the League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Changes Ivica Racan assessed the latest developments in the Knin region as tragic and extremely dramatic, with elements of blind violence and even open armed rebellion against legal, democratically elected authorities in Croatia.

Asked about his views on the referendum on the cultural autonomy of Serbs in Yugoslavia's Republic of Croatia, [words indistinct] "illegal and without legal effects."

Racan called on the Serbian people in Croatia not to allow to be manipulated against the Croatian people and against its own interests.

Asked to comment on the conduct of the Presidency of Yugoslavia and moves by the Yugoslav People's Army [words indistinct] contributed to the developments was also the reception of a [words indistinct] of Serbs from Croatia by President of the Yugoslav Presidency Dr Borisav Jovic and the [words indistinct] of the army. That was why illegitimate references were made to it by extremists among the Serbs, he said.

Racan said that his party disagrees on many points with the ruling Croatian Democratic Union, but that it now supports the existing order and authorities in Croatia in their responsible [word indistinct] conduct and activity in protecting the republic's sovereignty and further democratic development. He specified that what his party especially supports in relation to the authorities are the democratic methods of resolving the problems by peaceful means and not by violence.

Croat Serb Leaders Appeal to SFRY Presidency

AU1808200190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Kosta Krajincanic report from Knin; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] The day has passed without incident, but the temperature is rising on both sides on the eve of the referendum to be held tomorrow on the status of the Knin region in Croatia. The Croatian authorities try in various ways to deny the democratic right of the Serbian people to decide on their fate through a free referendum allowed under the Constitution, but the Serbian people here are resolute in their intention to do so.

In the meantime, peace negotiations, so to speak, have been held between the representatives of the Knin Commune and the Serbian Democratic Party on the one side, and (?the Croatian government on the other, designed) to prevent an intervention of special police units and to withdraw civilians sentries from their positions. We recall that Serbian sentries are controlling approach roads to Knin both day and night.

It seems that agreement has been reached in this sense, because according to the latest reports, the sentries are being withdrawn and weapons are being handed in. We learn that this was the condition for Josip Boljkovac, head of the Croatian police, arriving in Knin for further negotiations.

Jovan Raskovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party, and Milan Babic, president of the Serbian National Council, have sent a telegram to the Presidency of Yugoslavia and the Federal Executive Council saying among other things:

We are accused of terrorism. This is an old method, the same as applied by all totalitarian regimes, according to which others are blamed for everything and are punished, but those who are most guilty remain pure. The attack on the Serbian people in Croatia and the open war against them are acts perpetrated by the Croatian leadership.

The Serbian people try to conduct a plebiscite on their autonomy. This is not terrorism. It is a democratic right of every people in the world. The response of the Croatian leadership to this political demand was very brutal. Heavily armed special policemen were sent against the Serbian people. State terrorism against the Serbian people has been waged in Croatia. The authority of Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, has been shaken, and he tries to consolidate it with a militaristic attack on the Serbian people in Croatia.

The well-known Goebbels' trick of proclaiming a political opponent a terrorist is being revived in the stances of the Croatian Government and Tudjman personally. The message that Jovan Raskovic and Milan Babic have sent to the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Council says: All that we are trying to do is an expression of the defense of the Serbian people in Croatia. We want to defend ourselves from a ruthless and fanatical adversary of the Serbian people, but our greatest desire is to prevent bloodshed.

At this moment, we do not possess a force that would bridle state terrorism in Croatia, perpetrated by the Croatian Democratic Community in the name of the state. Therefore we appeal to you, as legitimate representatives of the Yugoslav state, to stop, in a democratic or any other way, the ravages of state terrorism and violence against the Serbian people in Croatia.

As citizens of Yugoslavia, and as a Yugoslav people, the Serbian people in Croatia have the right to protection. All the means used by us so far have been solely and

exclusively democratic, but the answers to these democratic demands were threatening and terrorist. We accept any decision by the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Council as our own obligation. Our only aim is free and democratic life in democratic Croatia, which at this moment is not democratic, but we hope that it will become such.

Above all, we want to live in free and democratic federal Yugoslavia. It is our right to request democratic help from the highest organs of Yugoslavia, it is said in the message that Jovan Raskovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party, and Milan Babic, president of the Serbian National Council, sent to the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Council today.

Ethnic Serb Leader Denies Contact With Serbia

AU1908132890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Milos Rajkovic report from Knin—live or recorded]

[Text] The referendum on the autonomy of Serbs in Croatia conducted here in the Knin region is going on in perfect order and without any incidents, although threats of intervention by order-keeping organs [redarstveni organi] have been coming from Zagreb for days. However, as I have said, everything is proceeding in an orderly fashion. There are no militiamen here and the people have organized themselves in the best way.

At the two polling places in Knin, people are patiently waiting in line for as long as half an hour to cast their vote. In the villages of Ermenik, Ramljane, and Biocino Selo, the referendum was concluded early this morning.

Jovan Raskovic, leader of the Serbian Democratic Party, voted in Knin this morning. On that occasion, Raskovic commented on the assertions made by certain circles to the effect that the Serbian leadership is allegedly behind this plebiscite.

[Begin Raskovic recording] We have no contacts with the Serbs or with the Serbian leadership. It is not because we do not want to, but rather that they probably would not want us to have any contacts with them in this situation. Everything that we have done, we thought up by ourselves. Everything that we have done has been made here. Everything that we have done has been constructed here. Everything that we have done has been programmed here. Anything else is a lie or fabrication. Mr. Milosevic has absolutely nothing to do with our movement. [end recording]

'No Reason To Fear' Referendum

LD1908171690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Knin, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—The Croatian people have no reason to fear the referendum of Serbs in Croatia on their autonomy. It has no legal grounds. It is only a democratic referendum such as are held everywhere else in the world, and the Croatian leadership, with its undemocratic pressures, is the only culprit for all that has been happening in Knin.

These are the words of Dr. Jovan Raskovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS], at this morning's news conference attended by numerous domestic and foreign journalists.

Replying to questions, Dr. Raskovic said: "We held a meeting of the main committee again last night. Not a drop of blood must be shed because, according to my own concept of the world, a life is worth more than any regime. If we are to partially withdraw it does not mean that we will give up. Should force be used in the near future we will see who is a terrorist and who is not."

"I am not in contact with federal organs. I briefly met Mr. Tudjman who immediately accused me of all this and asked me to stop the referendum, which I refused to do, of course. I also talked to Mr. Mesic, and Ivan Zvonimir Cicak was a mediator in these talks. The day before yesterday I asked Mr. Tudjman to stop the [armored] vehicles and blood would certainly have been shed if he had not done it. We expect the federal organs to protect us just as they are protecting all citizens of Yugoslavia," said Dr. Raskovic.

The entire Croatian press, added Raskovic, is packed with lies about my calling for the army. No one called for it, but it is natural that its activity is conditioned in cases of mass bloodshed.

In replying to the question on what he thinks of voluntary recruitment, Dr. Raskovic was specific: "There is no need for anyone to come. I am against any kind of war or conflict on the Croatian territory inhabited by Serbs. Everything should be settled in a democratic way. Regardless of what Mr. Tudjan thinks about me, it is high time for us to come to an agreement. All this would have been prevented if that had happened."

After the plebiscite of the Serbian people in Croatia, we will ask Dr. Tudjman to let us have what he promised us, cultural autonomy, stressed SDS President Dr. Raskovic at a news conference in Knin.

Croat Socialist Party Issues Statement on Voting

LD1908125390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Split, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—In connection with the latest events regarding the Serbian plebiscite on autonomy, the Croat Socialist Party (SSH) has issued a statement stressing that it was against the breaking up of the common homeland, especially Dalmatia, which has always been an undivided part of the Croat homeland.

We condemn every form of vandalism and interference of those who make themselves the guardians of our souls [dusebriznici] and who have already caused enough evil by trying to break up Yugoslavia and all those who would

now destabilize the Croat Republic. In this statement we give our full support to the authorities and leadership of Croatia and their efforts for stability, peace and order in Croatia.

Croat Social-Liberal Party Urges Joint Meeting

LD1908141390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1308 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—Drazen Budisa, president of the Croat Social-Liberal Party, today issued a public invitation to the leaderships of all Croat political parties to participate in a joint meeting scheduled for 21 August in Zagreb.

He stresses in his invitation that the meeting, which would be attended by the presidents or members of the leaderships, "is necessary in these difficult moments for Croatia and its democracy. At the meeting we should examine the latest events in Croatia and the tasks which are facing all political parties. The adoption of a joint communique on the defense of Croat territorial integrity and sovereignty, as well as the equality and freedom of all citizens of Croatia is also expected.

Serbian Renewal Movement Opens Hercegovina Branch

LD2008083690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2226 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Gacko, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—The Serbian Renewal Movement wishes to contribute towards concord and unity of all Serbian parties at the forthcoming multiparty elections in Bosnia- Hercegovina, leader of the movement Vuk Draskovic told a rally marking the founding of its branch for eastern Hercegovina in Avtovac, Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, on Sunday [19 August].

The distinctly nationally-oriented Serbian Renewal Movement is one of the largest opposition parties in the Republic of Serbia.

Draskovic told the about 5,000 people who attended the rally, held in a euphoric atmosphere, that his movement would consider the possible casting of Serbian votes for the party of Bosnia- Hercegovina Communist leader Nijaz Durakovic or Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic as a betrayal of the Serbian spirit.

Draskovic also said that the movement would consider possible election coalitions between the Natinal Moslem Party in Bosnia- Hercegovina and "parties from Ustasha Croatia" illegal and a declaration of war on the Serbs.

The first postwar multiparty elections in Mosnia-Hercegovina, whose population includes Serbs, Croats, and Moslems, have been set for November 18 this year.

Serbian Presidency's Letter to Federal Presidency

AU1908144590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] We have just received a statement from the Presidency of Serbia informing the public of the contents of the letter which, after the Croatian and Slovene Presidencies issued their statements, the Serbian Presidency sent to the SFRY Presidency. The letter is signed by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of Serbia:

The peoples of Yugoslavia have united themselves into a joint state in the strong belief that this state will guarantee them equality. The protection of the equality of the peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia is not only the most important constitutional obligation of the SFRY Presidency and the system's institutions, but is also the basic condition for Yugoslavia's survival.

The organs of authority in Croatia, before the Yugoslav and world public, have tried to remove the Croatian Serbs' basic human right to free expression of opinion with repressive measures. According to the statements issued today concerning this move, the Croatian authorities have even sought the support of the SFRY Presidency.

This is why the Presidency of Serbia demands from the SFRY Presidency, in accordance with its constitutional obligations and its responsibility, that it should prevent all further violation of the human rights of Serbs in Croatia which are guaranteed by the Constitution.

In addition to demanding that the constitutionally guaranteed equality of the citizens of the SFRY be immediately established through the measures designed to protect the constitutional system of the SFRY, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia concludes that the newly developed crisis illustrates, most graphically, that the problems in Yugoslavia cannot be resolved by amending the existing Constitution. He stated that the new constitution of Yugoslavia should be adopted as soon as possible, and that Yugoslavia should be composed of the Yugoslav peoples who want to live together in peace and harmony. The Serbian Presidency also concludes that the SFRY Presidency should accelerate as a matter of urgency the incipient preparations for the adoption of the law on secession which would enable those people who want to leave Yugoslavia to do so in a peaceful way, without violating the interests of those who want to stay within the Yugoslav community.

In this context, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia takes the view that the peoples' referendum is the only democratic way for people to realize their right to self- determination and that it should be endorsed by the above mentioned law.

In addition to these demands and proposals, we would like to stress that the claims about a scenario outside Croatia—that is, that the scenario of these unpleasant events is being devised in Serbia—is yet another attempt

to deceive one's own public and the public at large, and to conceal the notorious fact that these events are merely a direct consequence of the Croatian authorities' policies.

In addition, these claims represent yet another insult to the Serbs living in Croatia, because they alone can feel and understand best the pressures to which they have been exposed. Such accusations are senseless, especially because the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the citizens of Serbia do not hide their support for the Serbian people in Croatia. On the contrary. The Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Serbian people, as well as the citizens of Serbia—who have, throughout their history, demonstrated solidarity with all those who fought against injustice and humiliation—consider it their right and their duty to use all available democratic means to help the Serbs in Croatia in order to protect their human and civil rights and their existence.

Finally, we consider the criticisms from Croatia and Slovenia addressed to Dr. Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and the Yugoslav People's Army, politically unacceptable and immoral.

Further on Letter

LD1908192290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1354 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia has sent a letter to the SFRY Presidency which reads:

"Yugoslavia's people united in a shared state in the firm belief that it guaranteed equality. The protection of the equality of nations and people in Yugoslavia is not only the most important constitutional duty of the SFRY Presidency and of the system's institutions but also the principal prerequisite for Yugoslavia's survival.

"The authorities in Croatia have taken repressive measures before the eyes of the Yugoslav and world public in an attempt to deny the Serbs in Croatia their basic human right to express their opinion freely. According to today's comuniques they even demanded the SFRY Presidency's support for this action of theirs. This is why the Serbian Presidency demands of the SFRY Presidency to thwart, in line with its constitutional obligations and responsibilities, any further violation of the human rights of the Serbs in Croatia which they are guaranteed by the Constitution.

"As it demands that the constitutionally guaranteed equality of SFRY citizens be immediately established by taking measures to protect the constitutional order of the SFRY, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia finds:

"1. That the current crisis demonstrates more than anything else that problems in Yugoslavia cannot be resolved by repairing the existing Constitution with amendments but that a new constitution of Yugoslavia must be passed as soon as possible, a Yugoslavia made up of those Yugoslav nations which want to live together in peace and harmony;

"2. That the SFRY Presidency should speed up as a matter of urgency the preparations for passing the Law on Secession, which should enable those nations wanting to walk out of Yugoslavia to do so peacefuly without infringing on the interests of the nations remaining within the Yugoslav community. In view of this the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia maintains that the plebiscite is the only democratic way to materialize the right of nations to self-determination and that it should be sanctioned by the said law.

"Apart from these demands and proposals we want to stress that the claims about the existence of a certain scenario of these infamous events drawn up in Serbia constitute yet another attempt to hush up the indisputable fact that these events are merely the direct consequence of the actions on the part of the Croatian authorities. In addition, these claims represent yet another insult inflicted on the Serbs in Croatia, for no one can understand and feel the pressures they are exposed to better than they can themselves. These accusations are meaningless insomuch as the Socialist Republic and citizens of Serbia do not make their support for the Serbian nation in Croatia secret. On the contrary, the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Serbian nation, as well as Croatia's citizens, who have throughout their history demonstrated solidarity with all those who fought injustice and humiliation, maintain that it is their right and duty to help, by all democratic means at their disposal, the Serbs in Croatia in the interest of protecting their human and civil rights and their existence.

"Finally, we note that we find critical remarks, addressed by Croatia and Slovenia to President of the SFRY Presidency Borisav Jovic and the Yugoslav Peoples' Army, politically unacceptable and morally undignified."

President Slobodan Milosevic

Slovenia Sends Letter to Federal Government

LD1808131690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2354 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—The government of the republic of Slovenia, northwestern Yugoslavia, today sent a letter to Yugoslavia's Federal Government in reply to its earlier insistence that Yugoslavia's Federal Constitution and all law regulations in the field of national defence be observed.

Among other things, the letter points out that the Slovenian authorities' decision under which a majority of recruits from Slovenia do their military service terms in Slovenia "is not an unreal demand, and particularly so since that was insisted on in due time."

"Consequences of a possible conflict on account of consistence [as received] by competent authorities in Slovenia to have a majority of recruits from Slovenia do their service in the [words indistinct] borne by those who did not show readines to find acceptable solutions," the letter also says.

Slovene Statement on Croat Events

LD1808091190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0101 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—In connection with the latest events in the Knin region, the Slovene Government concludes, according to a statement issued late yesterday evening, "that it is an attempted destabilization which aims at toppling the legal, legitimate, and democratically elected government in the Republic of Croatia, according to a scenario created outside Croatia."

The Slovene Government, the statement further says, "severely condemns this attempt and fully supports efforts of the Croatian Government and its other state bodies to secure order and lawfulness throughout the Republic of Croatia." A statement, which Lojze Peterle, the Slovene Assembly's Executive Council president, gave to the third news program of Slovenia television and to Slovene radio, says that "an arbitrary and illegal use of the Yugoslav People's Army, which violated constitutional provisions on the use of armed forces in the times of peace, is a particularly unacceptable measure which was taken in order to resolve tension in the Knin region. Being aware of consequences which can arise from an intranational conflict, we are calling on all political powers and responsible bodies to halt the escalation of tension," the Slovene Government statement stresses.

Presidency Statement on Knin Events

AU1808163590 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] At an expanded session today, the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia assessed the current events in Croatia. In the Presidency's assessment, it is a matter of escalating pressure intended to destabilize political life in Yugoslavia and to remold it according to the interests of the ruling people of one particular republic. This is a policy which, with its theses about the Serbs being endangered, has destroyed Yugoslavia built on the principles of voluntarism and equality, a policy that is now directed against the sovereign, legitimate, and legal authorities in Slovenia and Croatia, as well as against the benefits of the citizens in all the republics and provinces.

Any political violence, even if only verbal, which now appears in the relations between republics, prevents a democratic dialogue concerning the future of Yugoslavia, and within this framework about the position of Serbs who live outside its republic.

The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia therefore rejects this violence and denounces those who irresponsibly treat the fate of our people and endanger peace and democracy in Yugoslavia.

The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia expresses its conviction that the organs of the legal and sovereign authorities of the Republic of Croatia will fully implement their constitutional responsibility and power in settling the affairs in the republic. It also expects that under these conditions, while respecting full sovereignty of Croatia, the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Executive Council, and other organs of the federation will take measures within their powers.

With all the means of a law-governed state, the authorities of the Republic of Slovenia will ensure peace and order, and a secure life for the people of our republic, and will prevent any attempts at introducing disorder and national intolerance. This was stressed at an expanded session of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia.

Croat 'Political Violence' Noted

LD1808154590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1502 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—The presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia on Saturday [18 August] assessed the situation in Croatia as marked by a "gradation of pressure to destabilize political life in Yugoslavia and to readjust it to the interests of the ruling structure of a republic."

"All political violence, even if only verbal, which is now being used in relations among the republics, prevents the reaching of a democratic accord on the future of Yugoslavia and on the position of Serbs outside the Republic of Serbia," a report from the Presidency meeting said. It added that Slovenia "rejects violence and condemns those who are irresponsibly playing with the future our people and nations."

Serbian Renaissance Holds Rally in Belgrade

LD1708220690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1938 GMT 17 Aug 90

[All punctuation as received]

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—"We want arms"; "let's go to Knin"; and "We want an uprising" were the slogans voiced most frequently and vocally this evening in Belgrade's Republic Square, where at about 2030 [1830 GMT] some 1,000 people gathered, primarily members of the Serbian Renaissance Movement. Accompanied by the singing of songs like "From Topola to Ravna Gora" and "Prepare Yourselves, Prepare Yourselves Chetniks"; the picture of Draza Mihailovic; and the serbian tricolor, numerous speakers took turns speaking in front of the monument to Prince Mihail.

The assessment was heard that Serbia and the Serbian people, as of this evening, in a state of war; the call "let's go to Zagreb" was heard; and the question "Where are you now Slobo?" was chanted [reference to Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Presidency]. One of the speakers said tonight that the government of Ante Markovic must fall, which was accompanied by shouts of "Markovic-Pavelic" [Pavelic was a Croat fascist leader in World War II].

At about 2100 [1900 GMT] those who had gathered set off toward Dimitrije Tucovic Square.

Police Interrupt Serb Renaissance Meeting in Foca

LD1908212490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1946 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Foca, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—The police intervened and interrupted the assembly tonight of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove, SPO] which was opened in the town's [Foca] main square in the presence of several hundred people despite a ban announced by the Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

The formation of SPO branches is not allowed because the party has not been registered in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

A fight broke out between the police and the SPO activists following the interruption of the meeting. Nobody was injured.

Kosovo Democratic Alliance Head Makes Demands

LD1708192190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1542 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Pristina, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—President of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo Dr Ibrahim Rugova once again accused today the authorities of the Republic of Serbia for "implementing repression in Kosovo."

Speaking at a regular news conference in Kosovo, Rugova also repeated demands for a Kosovo parliament and government to be constituted, for the daily RILINDJA to reappear at news-stands, and, he said, for "Pristina Radio-Television to be freed from a Serbian occupation."

Rugova, leader of the strongest ethnic Albanian opposition party in Kosovo, asked the Yugoslav Presidency to state clearly which special measures had been repealed after the lifting of the state of emergency in Kosovo and which were still in force.

Rugova expressed support for the general strike by ethnic Albanians in Kosovo organized by the ethnically-pure (ethnic Albanian) Independent Trade Union of Kosovo and scheduled to start in early September.

He said he was sure his party would soon be registered and recalled that the application and all necessary documents had already been forwarded to the federal secretariat for justice and organization of federal administration, which would decide on it.

Titov Drvar Authorities Support Knin Serbs

AU1908131890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] The sociopolitical and communal authorities of Titov Drvar condemn any attempt on the part of any movement to forcibly prevent the referendum on the cultural autonomy of the Serbs in Croatia and extend full support to the Serbian people living in the Knin Region, as well as to all people fighting for their identity and freedom. We shall give all the help that the Yugoslav People's Army and the people of the Knin region may ask for. We give our full support to the attempts and actions of the Yugoslav People's Army to prevent civil and fratricidal war in Yugoslavia, the message from Titov Drvar reads.

Montenegrin Party Statement on Events in Croatia

LD1908132390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1220 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Titograd, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—The leadership of the ruling Communist Party in the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro today assessed that the events connected with the referendum on Serb autonomy in Croatia and the overall political developments in the country are a sign that the crisis in Yugoslav society is nearing its outcome.

The Montenegrin communist party statement issued today says that the new Croatian government does not have a mandate to prevent the basic and unalienable rights of [words indistinct] Croatia, who, recognizing the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia, demand that their identity be preserved.

The use of force by the Croatian leadership can directly cause wider conflicts, including a civil war, the statement says.

The statement does not specify the basis of the assessment on the outcome of the crisis in Yugoslav society.

Serb Leader Raskovic Accused of 'Irrationality'

AU1808191690 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 11 Aug 90 p 28

[Danko Plevnik commentary: "The Only Standard Is To Be Serb"]

[Text] Will Raskovic's assertion that Serbs are a crazy people—repeated many times and discerned in his published talks with Tudjman—shed a bad light on his

charisma? If those people are really crazy, then it certainly will not. What would arguments, moralization, and truthfulness mean to a crazy man! This time, the highest Croatian political leadership, which, in the past, pointed to the hypocrisy and inconsistency of Jovan Raskovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party and self-appointed leader of all Serbs outside Serbia, even provided a proof for this being so, in a naive belief that Raskovic keeps his word.

In fact, he does. However, as has been shown during the talks, he only keeps his word given to his masters in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. He would gladly help Tudjman in settling the situation in Croatia, but what can he do when, like Faustus, he has already sold his soul to the Serbian academicians. Rationally he is on the side of Croatia, but emotionally he is on the side of Serbia and has to implement the mandate given to him by the memorandum [of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts]. After all, a large part of the memorandum was drafted in his villa; therefore, being a coauthor, he is obliged to implement it.

In order that the program of the breakup of Yugoslavia and establishment of Great Serbia be realized, one must follow the timetable dictated by the "memorandum people," now literally united with Milosevic into the Socialist Party of Serbia. This means that endangerment and protection of Serbs in Croatia does not depend on real circumstances, but on the "timing" dictated by the Great Serb headquarters. Tudjman is shunning any conflict, calming down his increasingly restless hawks, and, as much as it is possible, making concessions; however, all this has been in vain. Serbian nationalists are singing their role according to the Belgrade libretto.

If the Serbian people in Croatia are really crazy, then Raskovic, being a psychiatrist, is exactly the right leader for them. If he cared about the stability of the position of Serbs in Croatia, he would not frighten them. He would not have chosen Knin for his headquarters—because the memory of the Chetnik war criminal, priest Djujic, is still alive—and would not put his patients on the political scene. He would have accepted the position of the vice president of the Croatian Assembly, would have organized his party to fight its way into the parliament, and thus have a closer influence on the position of Serbs in that republic.

If he had behaved that way, however, he would have forsaken his memorandum masters and neglected the investment of the "antibureaucratic revolution" into Knin. Although Raskovic is Milosevic's opponent in words—it is a question, however, if a normal person can trust his word—they both serve the same spiritual masters (the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Serbian Orthodox Church). His task is to penetrate other republics with the memorandum program, Milosevic having failed to do so from the outside. Milosevic has tried to "awaken" the Serbs outside Serbia with the help of force, and Raskovic has managed to do so by fair means. Regarding Croatia, he awakened only the memorandum-supporting Serbs there with the fear of "Ustashas," because not a single one of the more prominent Serbs wants to be "crazy"; that is, a follower of Jovan Raskovic.

Raskovic does not care at all about that. The only important thing for him is—instead of going to work as a psychiatrist in Sibenik—to tour rallies in Serbian villages in Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and even in Vojvodina. It is said in journalistic circles that Raskovic is probably paid by the CIA, because it wants to tear Vojvodina away from Serbia and have it join the Western geographic-historical hemisphere again. This is why the U.S. ambassador in Belgrade has such a favorable attitude toward the Serbs in Croatia in keeping with the memorandum. As we know, he sang the well-known tune about endangerment of the Serbs in Croatia in NIN [National Information Network] recently.

What kind of endangerment is that? It is reflected in rejecting the assembly amendments to the Croatian Constitution, in the failure to recognize the democratically elected republican authorities, in hampering parliamentary life, and the like. Serbs in Croatia are primarily endangered by Serbian nationalists and by the political irrationality of Jovan Raskovic, who is at the head of the Serbian Democratic Party. Raskovic first emphasized that he is not going to demand autonomy for the Serbs in Croatia, but then stressed that he is going to demand autonomy. First he said that he will demand only cultural autonomy, then economic, political, and at the end, territorial autonomy. Speaking at the tribal meeting in Srb on the day when the Croatian assembly met, he declared a kind of conditional autonomy which means that there will be autonomy if the Croats....

Raskovic is now stirring up and confusing issues, because he does not coordinate his timetable with the Great Serbian one at all. "Slobodanka" [allusion to Slobodan Milosevic] (POLITIKA) has read his announcement to mean that the matter—the existence of autonomy itself—has been settled. What happened at the meeting in Srb? Instead of devoting themselves to "their own" autonomy and their own "Serbian assembly" as was expected, Raskovic's revolutionists criticized the Croatian Assembly amendments! Who knows how many times they announced the vote on a Serbian autonomous province—which would encompass several unofficially joined communes in north Dalmatia and Lika—to be held on 17 August, this time in the form of a referendum.

They have found an historical justification for the Serbian autonomous province in the Military Frontier of the past. In doing so, they are surely forgetting that at Vienna's demand, both the Orthodox and Catholic believers had come to that region which was a Croatian land and which mainly belonged to the Zagreb Bishopric. The Turks had gone and the County of Croatia fought with Vienna for decades to have the War Frontier join the main country, and in 1881 it finally succeeded in doing so. The Austro-Hungarian state fell apart in 1918

and now, in 1990, Serbian nationalists want to rewrite the history of the Croatian lands.

They would find it easier to do so if people elsewhere in Yugoslavia and in Europe believed their fairy tale about the Serbs in Croatia being endangered. They are, therefore, doing everything to prove to the world that they are political victims in Croatia, although the number of ethnic Serbian political prisoners since the war can be counted on the fingers of one hand. In conformity with the revolutionist timetable, Serbian nationalists have now resorted even to physical acts, such as stoning an international train in Knin, in order to provoke the Croatian authorities. Even "Slobodanka" cannot write only fiction all the time. From time to time, it needs some facts, too.

What can Raskovic's autonomy mean in the economic sense? It mostly means the region's further economic lagging. The demand for Knin products is already decreasing in other parts of Croatia. The Croatian Government may interrupt economic links with this region which partially lives off the republican economic support, may cease to pay out veterans' and other pensions, and the like. If the Serbs want their own state in Croatia so much, they will then pay for it not only economically but also in blood, for Tudjman has already announced that he is not going to allow any change of the Croatian borders.

Milosevic cannot help this poor region, for if he could, he would help Smederevo, Aleksinac, and other Serbian towns which were sunk by the developmental tide of Belgrade centralism. On the other hand, there is a counterbalance to Raskovic's aims in Serbia itself: Muslims in Sandzak are demanding exactly the same as Raskovic in Croatia. For the time being, a larger front in Croatia does not suit Milosevic. If it did suit him, as one of Tudjman's vice presidents put it, we would already have bombs and tangible results. Milosevic needs a preelection myth on the "preservation of Yugoslavia" and he is, therefore, not opting for specific actions through his state apparatus, actions which his state security service has performed in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

For the time being, Raskovic is informed and supported by his fellow academicians, such as Cosic and Beckovic who harbor a macrocosmic understanding for his weaknesses. If they showed such an understanding for Albanians in Kosovo, this province would have long ceased to be a political problem. What can one do when nationalism is basically comprised of sympathy for one's own and antipathy for others? With nationalists, and Serb nationalists in particular, what disturbs one is not so much that a sin is glorified or its significance diminished, but that it is exaggerated or forgiven with such irrational ease. Is it, therefore, at all possible to be wise, moral, and consistent while being irrational? All that, however, is not important at all. What is important (to Raskovic and his team) is whether or not you are a Serb.

Rugova Holds News Conference on Kosovo, Plans

AU1708142590 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 12 Aug 90 pp 4-5

[Emin Azemi report: "The Albanians Will Not Be Brought to Their Knees"]

[Excerpts] Pristina, 11 Aug—Good news from Kosovo seems to be waiting for better days. Recent reports from the field testify to a serious situation in daily political and economic life. The puppet leaderships installed by Belgrade in working collectives and communal bodies are not only arousing fury among citizens, but are being rejected by them. Meanwhile, citizens throughout Kosovo are continuing to use meetings of the alternative movements to express their refusal to accept the ban on RILINDJA and the appointment of illegitimate leaders to communal assemblies and working collectives.

Increasing Economic and Political Repression

The Presidium of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [KDA] held a news conference for Yugoslav and foreign journalists on the premises of the Kosovo Writers Association the day before yesterday, at which its president, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, presented his views on the situation in Kosovo. After telling journalists that the situation in Kosovo has greatly deteriorated since the previous week's KDA news conference, he said that economic and political repression is increasing. At the same time, he said that we condemn the ban on RILINDJA, because the Albanians now find themselves in a media vacuum recalling the time of the Ottoman Empire or prewar Yugoslavia. We demand that the decision to ban RILINDJA and close Pristina Radio and Television should be annulled, because it means that every channel of information for the Albanians is blocked. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova recalled that the right to information is a human right which is not merely a matter of national rights.

Even though we repeat our demands from week to week and they are unfortunately falling on deaf ears, we once again demand, the KDA leader said, that the Kosovo Assembly and Executive Council should start work again. Moreover, we oppose the measures of force introduced in the Medical Faculty, Kosovo Elektroekonomia, and Trepca, which show once again that local and centralized Serbian rule is destroying everything in Kosovo.

Journalists were also told that the KDA had denounced a few days earlier the police attack on the Albanian and Croatian Catholic churches at Binac and Urosevac. Now, not even religious buildings are spared, which did not even happen during the war, Rugova said. To increase the absurdity, Belgrade Radio and Television said a few days ago that drugs causing headaches had been found in these churches, and tried to cast aspersions on the sisters of the churches by claiming that they instigated the mass poisoning in Kosovo, an explanation which again shows that trickery of some kind is involved.

Dismissals From Work Not Only for Political Reasons

As the KDA's news conference continued, its chairman also mentioned to journalists the Podujevo incident. After condemning the suspension of the town's Communal Assembly, he said that the militia had provoked citizens on the day in question. He then demanded that what is called the Serbian Socialist Party should not give orders to the militia, who are forcing citizens to join this party against their will. There were even cases in Istok of the police maltreating citizens for not joining this party, and this is not political fair play. The Serbian Socialist Party shows in this way that it is Stalinist and nationalist in its methods, and therefore cannot be accepted in Kosovo. We are not against anybody joining any party, but we condemn every attempt to boost a party's membership by force.

We will turn to all federal authorities and democratic parties in Yugoslavia and call on them to do something to overcome the present situation in Kosovo, and will also turn to various international institutions. We will do this, because all the circumstances surrounding the dismissal of Albanian workers from their jobs aims at bringing them to their knees by economic repression. However, the Albanians will not be brought to their knees, Ibrahim Rugova continued, and only the economy will suffer from Serbian policies. The Albanians will not be brought to their knees, because they are determined on a democratic and political solution of the problems of Kosovo.

After these remarks by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, journalists, particularly those from abroad, asked various questions. A journalist from the German paper FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU was interested in finding out whether the number of Albanian workers dismissed following Serbia's measures is accurate, whether they have been dismissed because of their political convictions, and whether there was a legal foundation for the dismissal of the Pristina Radio and Television workers. Dr. Rugova replied that more than 6,000 Albanian workers have been dismissed since 5 July, and told the German journalist that he believed that the Albanian workers were not dismissed merely for their political convictions, but for their economic views, because these people did not want their collectives to be placed under an imposed management which would ruin them economically. The Albanian workers want the economy to be managed by experts.

As for the legal grounds for the dismissal of the Pristina Radio and Television workers, Rugova replied they were first sent on compulsory leave, and 150 of them were subsequently suspended. There were such cases even when workers were on maternity leave.

A French journalist asked whether you (meaning Rugova) have said that all the measures taken by the Serbian Government should be annulled, and how this can be achieved. Rugova replied that if we were in power we would of course reverse these measures. Asked by a foreign journalist on what basis the KDA will register, the chairman of the news conference said that we will apply for registration under the federal law, and that it remains to be seen whether we will be successful or not.

Professor Dr. Fehmi Agani also made an interesting statement at this news conference, commenting briefly on the invitation of Nikola Saric, the imposed Pristina Radio and Television director. He said that his call for a resumption of work was two-faced at a time when RILINDJA is banned and lists of journalists to be dismissed are being compiled.

Dismissing Puppet Leaderships

The delegates of the three chambers of Podujevo Communal Assembly, meeting on the premises of the 4 July Elementary School the day before yesterday, approved the following conclusions:

The decision announced by the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia for the suspension of the Podujevo Communal Assembly is unacceptable and illegal. Officials and other employees are obliged to continue their work even under these conditions. A delegation will be formed which will make contact with the highest legitimate authorities of Kosovo and the federation and the Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms in Pristina, Yugoslavia, and abroad.

The delegates to this meeting unanimously dismissed Miladin Jovanovic, deputy chairman of the Communal Assembly; Milovan Tomcic, president of the Executive Council; Srboljub Bisercic, secretary to the All-People's Defense Secretariat; Milutin Markovic, secretary to the General Administrative Secretariat; and Milorad Arsic, head of civil defense. They also obliged the Executive Council to assume responsibility for these functions until other members of the Executive Council are elected.

The situation in Kosovo in recent days has also been fraught with various transparent scenarios which seek to create tense situations and lead to bloodshed. Our reporter in Decani warned of this before the meeting of the three chambers of Decani Communal Assembly was held, a meeting which was accompanied by a heavy police presence in the town, even including armored vehicles. [passage omitted]

The recent package of "democratic" measures from the Assembly of the SR of Serbia has apparently also hit the mining town of Titova Mitrovica hard. Besides the miners and managers dismissed by the courts, all miners and workers without exception have now been prevented entry to Stari Trg, the most famous lead and zinc mine not only in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, but Europe and the world. The mine's gates and the area around the mine are guarded by Serbian militia, who have for the last two days been turning back miners who come to the mine to earn their daily bread. The same methods have been

used to prevent an attempt by the Stari Trg Independent Trade Union to hold a meeting to examine the situation. [passage omitted]

Poll on Popularity of New Croatian Authorities

AU1708194990

[Editorial Report] Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 7 August on pages 16 to 18 carries a 2,500-word report by Dejan Jovic on the results of DANAS' public opinion poll on the Croatian Constitution and the new Croatian authorities, entitled "One Half of Croatia is in Favor of a Referendum."

The poll carried out by DANAS was a postal poll involving 1,000 people from nine regional centers: Zagreb, Varazdin, Karlovac, Knin, Split, Pula, Rijeka, Osijek, and Vinkovci.

"The sample consists of 77 percent Croats, 11 percent Serbs, 12 percent Yugoslavs, and other nationalities. Seventy-seven percent of the respondents are not members of any party, 14 percent are members of the Croatian Democratic Community, and six percent are members of the League of Communists of Croatia—Party of Democratic Changes. The sample comprises 51 percent of women and 49 percent of men. Twenty-six percent have at least secondary school education. Every tenth respondent is a graduate of a higher or high school."

The results of the poll are presented in two tables as follows:

Table 1.

How should the constitution be decided on?	
[figures expressed in percentages]	
1. By a referendum of all Croatia's citizens	50
2. By a simple majority of the Croatian Assembly delegates	29
3. By a two-thirds majority of the Croatian Assembly delegates	19

Table 2.

Have the new Croatian authorities fulfilled your expectations?	
[figures expressed in percentages]	
1. Yes, but only partly	32
2. No, they completely disappointed me	21
3. No, I expected more	20
4. Yes, more than I expected	13
5. Yes, completely	12

RILINDJA Print Works 'Ransacked' by Militia

AU1708134990 Skopje FLAKE E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 12 Aug 90 p 4

[A. Muhaxheri report: "An Absurdity of the 'Rule of Law'"]

[Text] The absurdities and paradoxes of those who issue orders under the 'rule of law' have now become commonplace. Even yesterday's violence in the RILINDJA printing works was 'commonplace.' In this incident the Serbian militia, accompanied by armed civilians, destroyed the fruits of the working class' labor and ransacked equipment there. This was done without the authorization of the Pristina district public prosecutor. In order to justify this act of vandalism after "the job was done," a decision by Jovica Jovanovic, deputy public prosecutor, reached ZERI I RINISE, which temporarily banned this youth magazine.

The underlings of the 'law-governed state' ransacked everything they came across, and even shredded photographs of the representatives of the Albanian people, Ismail Qemali and Bajram Curri.

Journalists and other newspaper employees raised their voices in protest against this barbaric and uncivilized act, against this unprecedented act of vandalism and terror against the Albanian-language media and the equipment of the RILINDJA printing works. They demanded that federal bodies, journalists' associations, and newspaper employees throughout the country take steps to prevent this unprecedented terror which the "law-governed" (Serbian) state is waging against the Albanian people and various collectives and institutions in Kosovo.

Everything is being done according to a prearranged scenario, merely in order to smother the Albanian-language media and to stifle freedom of expression and thought.

One thing is known: This absurd act at RILINDJA is not only anticonstitutional, but exceeds all normal bounds and is against all unwritten standards of humanity.

The articles of the present Constitution state clearly: Citizens have a right to information. However, as you can also see in the photograph taken by RILINDJA's photographer Ilaz Bylykbashi, this right exists only on paper, which is not as it should be.

What can we finally say, except "o tempora, o mores?"

CDU Organization Founded in Bosnia-Herzegovina

LD1808211690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1834 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—A republican organization of the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) for the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was founded on Saturday [18 August] in the Skenderija Hall in Sarajevo in the presence of about 5,000 people.

The CDU became the ruling party in the Republic of Croatia after winning 42 per cent of the overall vote and

60 per cent of all seats in the republican parliament at the first post-war multi-party elections in April this year.

Eighteen per cent of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which borders on Croatia, are croats. Apart from the CDU, the national parties formed in Bosnia-Herzegovina so far are the party of Democratic Action (PDA), formed by Muslims, and the Serbian Democratic Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina. These three parties will be the main contenders at the republic's multi-party elections scheduled for Novembner 18.

The founding assembly of the Bosnia-Herzegovina CDU was opened by president of the Initiating Committee Davor Perinovic, who said that "enemies of Croats and Muslims never lay still."

"We will not give away Bosnia," he said.

Perinovic claimed that the CDU already had 60 communal organizations throughout Bosnia-Herzogovina, with a total of 250,000 members, mostly in Herzegovina. The party expects to win, will fight for a sovereign, independent and confederal Bosnia-Herzegovina, and opposes any alteration of the Yugoslav borders, both internal and external, said Perinovic, who several times called for the "brotherhood of Croats and Muslims".

Muslims make up the majority of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina with 43 per cent, followed by Serbs with 38 per cent.